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Without Concealment----Without Compromise.

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Congressional.

THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION.

SATURDAY, March 30.

The army appropriation bill was taken up. Pettit, of Indiana, moved this amendment:

"SEC. 17. *And be it further enacted*, That a chaplain shall receive six hundred dollars per annum."

Mr. P. supported this amendment, 1st. By the argument of extravagance; as we were now paying $35,320 a year for chaplains: 2dly. The absurdity of having Christianity taught to men whose business it was to violate its fundamental principles. Passing over the question what denomination of Christians was to be employed, and whether it was proper to tax one religious sect for the support of another, the question was, Is the institution of the Christian religion such a measure as ought to be, of necessity or of propriety, introduced, or which ought to be encouraged, in the army or the navy of the United States? What were the fundamental articles of that religion? What ought our army and our navy to do with it? Did it afford encouragement to vigilance and energy in the discharge of the engagements they had undertaken towards the government of the United States? If we were living under the Jewish dispensation, where the law was, "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth," with some propriety might we employ Jewish priests; aye, if we were followers of the later prophet, that had come with sword in his hand, and enforced his religion by fire and sword, we might with propriety employ chaplains of that persuasion. But what did the Christian religion teach? Humble, entire submission to every species of indignity and wrong that might be offered. The doctrine of the resentment of wrongs could not be found in the teachings of the Saviour of mankind. What did the very founder, the head and front of that religion? Did He not, clothed indeed with human shape, but possessing omnipotent power and wisdom, suffer indignities, submit to be spit upon, and have a crown of thorns planted and put upon his head? And did he resent it? But who that was a meek follower of him would say that he had not the power to do it?

But let them look from this practice to his precept.—He said, in olden times it was said, "An eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, that ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on one cheek, turn to him the other also." This was the doctrine, in substance, of the Christian religion. It was non-resistance; and to him the employment of chaplains in the army and navy was much more fitting to the time when the thunder of Sinai was obeyed, than under the mild teachings of the babe of Bethlehem. It was incompatible with our institutions, with the religion we professed, and ought not to be encouraged.

What was the duty of a chaplain in our army? It was, as a venerable member of this House had said, in reply to this interrogatory, it was to imbue the sailors and soldiers with the spirit of the Christian religion. Now, what would be the consequences of this? Instead of firing them with zeal, with energy, with revenge, so far as the repulsion of injury was concerned, it was to tell them, "Humbly submit; receive whatever indignity may be offered, and let it be tripled upon you, and make no resistance whatever." It was incompatible with the spirit of our institutions, and with their organization.

Messrs. *Morris* and *J. R. Ingersoll*, of Pennsylvania; *Holmes*, of South Carolina; *Hammett*, of Mississippi, and *Hardin*, of Illinois, spoke with great earnestness in reply, but none of them attempted to answer the argument of Mr. *Pettit*, viz: the incompatibility, absurdity, and wastefulness of making a large expenditure of public money every year, to teach a religion of *forgiveness* and *non-resistance*, to those whom our laws required to blow out the brains and plunder the property of as many of their brethren as they possibly can. There was a good deal of playing round this point and fighting shy of it, but although some of the ablest men in the House took up the defense of the Christian religion, (which however had not been assailed, but vindicated,) not one, not one attempted to grapple with the argument. They talked about the "blessing of Christian influences," the "softening of manners," and the probable relapse into barbarism, if instruction in the Christian religion were to cease. The most fierce and fiery denunciations of Mr. Pettit's shocking proposition and speech, which indeed caused them dismay, horror, and shuddering, came from Messrs. *Holmes*, *Hammett*, and *Hardin*, all of whom have been accustomed to reconcile *Christianity* with *slavery*. They felt that a strong prop would be taken from slavery if it should come to be thought that the religion of Jesus is against the cutting of throats.

Mr. *Wentworth*, of Illinois, made a quizzical and equivocal speech, which, while it denounced Mr *Pettit* in terms, showed plainly that Mr. W. would have been with him if he had had the manhood and honesty to speak his sentiments.

I give Mr. Holmes's reply, as a fair sample of the whole.

Mr. H. referred to the fact that even the ancients, upon whose path the light of Christianity had not shed its benign and tender influences, to soften, in any measure, the ferocity which marked the career of war, mingled their offerings of piety with the clash of battle. He related an anecdote of the elder Marcellus, exhibiting the deep moving of his feelings, and sympathies in view of the dread calamity which which was shortly to fall upon the inhabitants of the city he was about to take, and was understood to say that the result of the efforts of these individuals with whom it was now proposed to dispense, where civilization had taken the place of barbarous and savage ferocity, would be the infusing into the arts of destruction as much softness and humanity as was compatible with the energy of success.

The gentleman, he said, had placed his proposition on the sentiment that the Christian religion was destructive of everything high and ennobling in man, and therefore, that it was unfitted for those who were to vindicate the honor of their country. It was neither true in sentiment nor in fact. If they infused into the heart of the soldier the Christian religion, or they ameliorated his mind, they taught him this, and no more—to inflict the least injury compatible with the utmost good to be attained in the prosecution of his object. And let him ask whether history showed that men were less capable to encounter the difficulties of the camp and of the field, and to overcome them, because at night, when they retired to their tent, they unbosomed their thoughts to God, and when the morning light shone upon them, they sent up their orisons to heaven. Mr. H. contended that it did not, and alluded to incidents connected with the English, French, and Swiss soldiery in illustration of this truth. No: he trusted (he said) that by the influences of that religion we all professed, our army in the day of battle would be inspired; that while they wielded the sword of battle, they would also wield the sword of the Spirit; that amid the hardships and horrors of the contest, they might be assisted by the meek and the virtuous—by those who could not wield the battle-axe or the sword—by myriads of contrite hearts in supplications ascending to heaven amid the clash of battle and the clang of arms.

Mr. *J. R. Ingersoll*, among other things said that Bonaparte himself had shown that he was not insensible to the importance of touching a religious chord where it can be found, though he might not care how little it vibrated in harmony with his own feelings; for, at the foot of the pyramids, he pronounced his new creed, "there is one God, and Mahomet is his apostle." He was too wise afterwards to neglect so important an auxiliary to the administration, both of a military and civil despotism, and he alternately courted the smiles, and attempted to extort the alliance of the Roman Pontiff.

[The naïveté of this is inimitable.]

The argument, if so it can be called, turned much upon the wisdom and sound policy of putting up prayers in war, and having religious armies, because it made armies more successful; and Mr. *Ingersoll* expressed his opinion that if Napoleon had not at one time turned *Turk*, but had stuck steadily to his *Christianity*, he would not have been defeated at Waterloo, or died on the rock of St. Helena! As though the service of Satan were less bad, if performed in "the livery of heaven!"

Mr. *Pettit* finally withdrew his amendment, being urgently solicited so to do.

[I cannot doubt that this debate will do great good. If it does not advance true religion, as I think it will, it will at least tend to break up a system of *shamming* it.]

MONDAY, April 1.

Mr. *Giddings*, of Ohio, presented the petition of Nathaniel Miller, and 100 other citizens of Onondaga county, New-York, against the annexation of Texas; of Lydia Meehan, and 38 other ladies of Logan county, Ohio, for the same purpose; of John Meehum, and 68 other citizens of the same county, for the same purpose.

Mr. *Baker*, of Massachusetts, presented the memorial of the inhabitants of the town of Northampton, Massachusetts, praying that no proposition for the annexation of Texas to this Union, may be in any way entertained by Congress.

Also, the petition of Isaac Gibbs, and 302 other citizens of Hampden county, Massachusetts, praying for the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, for the adoption of measures to secure to *all* the citizens of the United States their constitutional rights and privileges in *all* the maritime ports of the Union, to admit no new State into the Union whose constitution shall not guaranty to all its citizens the blessings of civil liberty, and that the foreign State of Texas may not be annexed to this Union.

Mr. *Catlin*, of Connecticut, presented the memorial of Bela P. Spaulding, and 100 other citizens of Brooklyn, Connecticut, against the annexation of Texas to the Union.

Nine remonstrances from Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland, against any alteration of the tariff, were presented

The bill to authorize the sale of the *mineral* lands in Illinois, Iowa, and Wiskonsan, was discussed. These are the lead and copper mine lands. The questions were, whether it was best to sell them at present, whether they should be sold at the *minimum* price of public lands, (a dollar and a quarter an acre,) and whether they should be sold without further explorations to ascertain their value. An amendment excepting the copper mines of Wiskonsan was adopted. It was further said that a stranger could not, with safety, go into the mining region to purchase, the old miners regarding all new competitors with a *deadly* hostility. Mr. *Cave Johnson* moved to amend the bill so as to have these lands surveyed and appraised, and not to sell them for less than two-thirds of the appraised value. This was rejected.

TUESDAY, April 2.

An order of inquiry into the expenditure of the *contingent fund* of the State department, was adopted.

A bill to admit *Iowa as a State into the Union*, was taken up and postponed till to-morrow.

A bill to pay expenses of Iowa *militia*, called out to repel encroachments by the State of Missouri, was discussed. It appeared that Missouri had laid out a county, and attempted to collect a tax, within the territory of Iowa, and upon the advice of the judges and the district attorney, the governor called out the militia to protect the inhabitants. Mr. *Bowlin*, of Missouri, denied that there was any cause for calling out the Iowa militia, but was willing the bill should pass. It was laid aside to be reported to the House.

The army pay bill was taken up. Mr. *Hale*, of New Hampshire, moved to restore the pay of non-commissioned officers and soldiers, to $7 a month, instead of $6, to which by this bill it would be reduced. He said it was an easy thing for gentlemen sitting here at $8 *a day* to cut off a dollar from the poor soldier's seven *a month!* Messrs. *Black*, of South Carolina, and *Owen*, of Indiana, opposed the motion. Finally, on motion of *Cave Johnson*, the pay of soldiers was permitted to stand at six dollars a month certain, and *one* dollar *contingent on good behaviour*, to be paid at the expiration of service.

WEDNESDAY, April 3.

THE MASSACHUSETTS RESOLUTIONS.

Mr. *Adams*, from the select committee, heretofore appointed on certain joint resolutions of the legislature of Massachusetts, praying an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, in relation to the basis of representation, asked and obtained leave to make a report.

And Mr. A. under the instructions of the committee, made a report, which is accompanied with two resolutions, as follows:

First. That the amendment of the Constitution of the United States, proposed by the legislature of the commonwealth of Massachusetts, ought not to be recommended.

Second. That the committee be discharged from the further consideration on the subject.

And Mr. *Adams*, under the instructions of the committee, also reported the journal of its proceedings to the House.

Mr. *Adams*, at the same time, made a report on behalf of himself, and of Mr. Giddings, (also a member of the committee,) and then proceeded as follows:

The motion I have to make, Mr. Speaker, is, that all the reports which I now present, (including that heretofore made by a late member from Virginia, Mr. Gilmer,) and those of the other members of the committee, who will, I presume, present them, be laid on the table and printed.

Mr. *Burt*. I cannot consent that the report of the members from Massachusetts, (Mr. Adams,) and from Ohio, (Mr. Giddings,) shall be printed by the order of this House without being heard; and I feel myself called upon to ask that the paper be read to the House before the question on printing be determined.

The reading was commenced, but soon interrupted by Mr. *Houston*, of Alabama, and a division of Mr. Adams's motion having been made, his report was laid on the table *without printing*.

Mr. *J. R. Ingersoll*, from the same committee, made a report in behalf of himself and *G. Davis*, of Kentucky. Mr. *Burke*, of New Hampshire, and Mr. *Morse*, of Maine, each made a report for himself, making, with the late Mr. Gilmer's, (put in before he left the House,) *five* minority reports from one committee of *nine* members. The question on adopting the resolutions reported by the majority of the committee, was decided as follows, yeas 156, nays 13; viz:

Messrs. Abbott, Adams, Baker, Darrah, Dickney, Giddings, Hudson, Marsh, Morse, Rockwell, Rogers, Severance, Winthrop—13.

[This is nearly as many as appear on the journals in the early stages of abolition, in favor of the *right of petition*. *If* the Union should last long enough to have this subject discussed and matured, the "thirteen" will become an overwhelming majority.]

All the minority reports were laid on the table, and the motion to print, postponed till to-morrow.

The sale of mineral lands bill was further discussed and rejected, yeas 69, nays 81.

THURSDAY, April 4.

Seventeen remonstrances from Pennsylvania and Ohio, &c. against any alteration of the tariff, were presented.

The army pay bill was discussed, and the committee of the whole refused to amend, so as to add cadets to it as *lieutenants*, except as there were vacancies. An amendment proposed by *Parmenter*, of Massachusetts, was adopted, giving contracts to the lowest bidder.

Mr. *Holmes* moved an additional section to the bill, providing that hereafter no officer or private soldier in the army shall be compelled to attend public religious worship in any church, the doctrines of which are opposed to his religious belief.

Mr. Holmes alluded to cases of soldiers refusing to worship in a church of another sect, and being court-martialed, therefor.

Mr. Pettit, of Indiana, expressed his pleasure at this motion, and hisre gret that he had withdrawn the motion he made to abolish the office of chaplain.

He asked this House to set conscience free, and not to suffer it to be trammelled by any forms of law. Let every man be left free to serve God in his closet, or not at all; to serve one God, or a tri-une God, or any other sort of a God, or no God, provided he will faithfully serve the country. Congress might just as well undertake to control the religion of the clerks in the departments at Washington, as that of our soldiers or sailors. The amendment he had offered was but an affirmance of the bill of rights, which declared that no man shall be controlled in matters of religion. In some of the colonies of this country, religion had once controlled many things. At one of the assemblies in Connecticut, called, he believed, the general assembly, or the general court, or something of that sort, they passed a resolution, declaring that the laws of the God of Heaven should be in force within that colony until they had time to make better. Mr. P. never wanted to see that time come round again; he hoped the time never would come again when the human conscience could be trampled on, but that all would be left free to worship at what shrine they pleased, instead of allowing a little upstart midshipman, or some brevet second lieutenant to drive them to worship what they detest. Let them profess the Mahometan religion, or the Jewish, or the Pagan, just as they liked. There had been just as warm devotees to the worship of Oden, (which was probably the most ancient worship known among mankind,) as ever there had been to Christianity. None could be more devoted to their faith than had been the Jews—none more zealous than the Mahometans. He hoped this House would wipe away the reproach which rested on this country from the burning of witches, while Cotton Mather and Mr. Norris, walked round the fire, crying out, "There are eight firebrands of hell gone to receive their doom." Let all such doings be swept from the face of the earth. With that hope, he offered his amendment to the amendment moved by the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Holmes,) being, in substance, that hereafter no man be constrained to attend any form of worship.

Mr. *Hale*, of New Hampshire, spoke with great force and spirit, in favor of this amendment, and Messrs. *Hunt* and *Carroll*, of New-York, against it. Mr. Hale was opposed to the last clause of the amendment of the gentleman from South Carolina, (Mr. Holmes,) because it seemed to imply that if they did not violate the man's conscience, the officers might lawfully compel him to attend public worship. What was that religious homage worth which could be commanded by a superior officer? It was no better than a part of the military drill.

If Christianity was anything, it did not depend upon the sword for its support. It spoke to the heart, and it disclaimed all homage which had any other source.

Mr. H. believed the rights of conscience were as sacred in the humblest individual in the army or navy, as in the most distinguished citizen of the Union. Where did Congress get any right to control them? Christianity asked nothing from the pomp and circumstance of war; it found communion only with those hearts which brought to its shrine a freewill offering. It was not honored, but disgraced by any other. He hoped that the amendment would be adopted, and that our soldiers would be left just where all others of our citizens where left—to follow freely, and without control, the dictates of their own conscience.

The amendments were rejected by large majorities, leaving the soldiers subject to compulsory attendance on public worship, whether they agree in the form or not. The bill was passed, yeas 109, nays 36. All the reports on the *Massachusetts resolutions* were ordered to be printed. Yeas 85, nays 60.

[An attempt was made to print all except Mr. *Adams*'s, that is, consultation was had for that purpose, but the Northern democrats would not quite go that.]

The resolution from the Senate, for the *adjournment of* Congress on the 27th May, was postponed to May 13th.

FRIDAY, April 5.

The House suspended the rules to admit a motion to print the report of the minority of the committee of ways and means on the tariff; yeas 94, nays 44. Mr. *Ingersoll* had moved 20.000 copies, Mr. *White* proposed 10,000, which, Mr. I. consenting, was adopted.

The western harbor and river improvement bill was ameaded by inserting $100,000 instead of $60,000, for improvements between Pittsburg and the falls at Louisville. Upon an amendment proposing $223,000 instead $180,000, for the Ohio below Louisville, for the Mississippi, Missouri, Illinois, and Arkansas rivers, a debate of an entirely party character arose. It was crimination and recrimination, in respect to waste of public money, neglect of public interests, and the incurring of the present national debt. Mr. *G. Davis*, of Kentucky, commenced the ontset, and Mr. *Payne*, of Alabama, and Bowlin, Missouri, nothing loth, joined in it.

Selections.

From the Liberator.

TO THE MEMBERS AND FRIENDS OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY, IN MASSACHUSETTS.

The board of managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, beg leave to remind you of the approaching anniversary of the parent society, which will be held in the city of New-York, on the 7th of next month, and to urge you to grudge no expense, and to spare no effort, to ensure your attendance, in full and effective array, on that vitally important occasion. They would deem it a serious calamity to the cause, if not a discouraging indication of apathy on your part, for you to remain at home at a time when your presence, your counsel, your co-operation, were never more needed, than they will be at the ensuing anniversary. Questions of the highest importance will be presented for consideration and action, ultimately connected with the welfare and efficiency of the parent society, in regard to its future operation, and also in relation to a peaceful dissolution of the present oppressive and blood-cemented American Union.

If the parent society has not of late been, as to its resources and efforts, all that the necessities of our cause require; still we trust there is not one among the true-hearted, who is prepared to advocate its abandonment or suppression. The time is doubtless to arrive, when it will no longer be needed; but, should this society preserve its hitherto stainless integrity, that time will come, in our opinion, only when slavery ceases to pollute the American soil, and not a slave remains to be emancipated among us. We counsel you to distrust the soundness of that advice, or the wisdom of that policy, which contemplates the dissolving of any genuine anti-slavery association into its original elements, at this awful crisis in our national career. We do not know that any one in our ranks is disposed to proffer any such advice, or to suggest any such policy; but we are sure that there is not that co-operative action among the abolitionists, either in this commonwealth or elsewhere, which the nature of their warfare, the importance of the cause, or the exigencies of the times, imperiously demand. We claim to be engaged in a mightier conflict for freedom, than that which our revolutionary fathers waged in 1776—for the overthrow of an oppression, "*one hour* of which," in the language of Mr. JEFFERSON, "is fraught with more misery than *ages* of that which they rose in rebellion to oppose,"—for the deliverance of three millions of our countrymen from slavery, and the recovery of our own lost rights—for our homes, our firesides, our sanctuaries—for the marriage institution, the vindication of all that is dear to the heart of God or man, the brotherhood of the human race, the triumph of Christianity; yet how feebly and falteringly do we imitate the prompt action, the heroic endurance, the sleepless vigilance, the uncompromising spirit, the hearty co-operation, the generous devotion, the liberal self-sacrifice of those revolutionary sires! Are we in earnest? Do we mean what we say? Do we hold liberty to be paramount to all things? Are we resolved not to wear a chain ourselves—not to fasten chains upon others? Have we really counted the cost of the warfare? Are we prepared to do, and dare everything, that men may justly do and dare, for the maintenance of the principles of civil and religious freedom? Shall we talk of disbanding our forces, or suppressing our associations? Is there a loss of individual identity or power, by a union of the many in love and truth? Is earnest co-operation a hindrance to the triumph of right? Is it better to be isolated, than united together, for the accomplishment of a great work?

But if we associate, let us do so to some purpose! Let us make our societies formidable, by their vitality, to the enemies of liberty! Let us, individually, be ashamed to cast our share of responsibility and duty on others, who have their own to discharge! Let us combine—let us agitate—let us renew our strength, rekindle our flickering zeal, be more resolved for the future, strike heavier blows, and take a lofiier position! Let us prove by our deeds, that we are not to be overcome, but are resolved to conquer or perish!

We deem your presence at the annual meeting in New-York, to be of more importance, at this juncture, than it will be at the New-England convention. As far as practicable, attend them both; but such of you as can be present at only one of these important convocations, and are hesitating which to attend, we respectfully advise to give the New-York gathering the preference, for the following among other reasons:

First—An important amendment to the Constitution of the parent society is to be proposed, by which the executive committee may be located elsewhere than in New-York, or wherever the society may annually choose to determine. By this change, the field for choosing an efficient executive committee, instead of being confined, as it now is, to the city of New-York, will be unobstructed throughout the country; and the best materials therefore, of which to compose this responsible body, may thus be readily obtained, to the manifest advantage of our enterprise. If such a change be made, it is desirable that it should be made understandingly, harmoniously, and at as large a meeting of the members and friends of the parent society, as practicable.

Secondly—The situation and prospects of the Anti-Slavery Standard, and the spirit in which it should be conducted, are matters of deep interest, which will require great deliberation and the wisest counsel.

Thirdly—The question of making A REPEAL OF THE UNION, which now exists between the North and South, the rallying point of the American Society, and the great revolutionary object of the friends of freedom at the North, (by moral and peaceful means,) will be presented for the action of the society; a question which ought promptly to be settled, and in the decision of which, courage and unanimity are essential to success. If the time has come to "pass the Rubicon," then let the deed be done; but not without that preparation of mind, and that clearness of vision, which such a movement will require. The question is one of great solemnity, and of momentous importance. It ought to be discussed calmly, intelligently, thoroughly; and if it be decided to make "REPEAL" the watchword, then that decision ought to be supported by a series of measures adapted to the emergency, and calculated to make "a short work in righteousness." But,

Lastly—Whatever may be said or done, respecting the Union as it now stands, another question is to be met, at our national gathering in New-York, respecting which, it seems to us, there can be no room for hesitancy, or division among ourselves. The attrocious project of annexing Texas to the Union, by treaty, it is to be feared, will be crowned with success at the present session of Congress, notwithstanding the daring unconstitutionality of the act. With John Tyler for President of the United States—with such a cabinet as he has chosen—with John C. Calhoun for Secretary of State—with a Senate composed one half of slaveholders, every one of whom regards the extension and perpetuity of slavery, as of the highest importance to the South, and the other half composed of northern senators, every one of whom has basely cowered before the slaveholding power, and seen the sacred right of petition annually cloven down, without their daring to raise a single note of remonstrance, and enough of whom can unquestionably be bribed or intimidated into a support of this treasonable measure—we conceive that there is scarcely any ground to hope, that Texas and the South will be defeated in their long-cherished purpose. Even before the time for assembling in New-York shall have arrived, the Senate may have ratified the treaty, or in some other way Texas may be declared to be an integral portion of the American Union. Whether the annexation takes place now, or at any future period, it behooves the abolitionists of the United States—all who claim to be the friends of freedom—to know and declare what they are resolved to do, "sink or swim, live or die, survive or perish," and to be ready for the event at any moment; so that they may rally unitedly, as if a universal trumpet-call had been sounded, and act with the swiftness and energy of a living thunderbolt.

Let us, then, be strongly represented at New-York, from Maine to Wiskonsan. Let those abolitionists, who cannot possibly give their personal attendance, combine their means together, in the various parts of our widely-extended country, and send as delegates men and women of the soundest judgments, the clearest vision, the strongest intellects, and the best hearts, in whom they can confide, undoubtingly, and who will truly represent those by whose assistance they are enabled to be present.

"The time has come for earnest deeds—we've not a man to spare."

In behalf of the Board,
FRANCIS JACKSON, *President*.
EDMUND QUINCY, *Secretary*.
Boston, April 12, 1844.

From the Liberator.

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

The anti-slavery press should not allow the letter of this gentleman, to the mayor of Dayton, Ohio, to pass without plain and wholesome criticism. Its power to do mischief—to mislead and bewilder those whose perception of principle is none too clear or strong, and whose liability to be tempted, politically, beyond their self-government, is imminent—is derived not so much from its ingenious sophistry, as from the fact that its author has emancipated all his slaves, and seems to be animated by the spirit of universal liberty. The pro-slavery whig papers of the North, show their appreciation of the extraordinary value of this letter, to their present struggle for political supremacy, by the avidity with which they seize upon it as a political windfall, the readiness with which they lay it before their readers, and the flourish of trumpets which they make over it. Cassius M. Clay has yet to learn, that he must not write anything respecting slavery, or slaveholders, that will be gratifying to such corrupt prints, if he would secure for himself a sound anti-slavery reputation. He must know, too, that though he has done a righteous act in emancipating his slaves, that single act does not necessarily establish his claim to be regarded as a consistent and faithful friend of freedom—as a trustworthy abolitionist.

We wish to deal as gently and forbearingly with Mr. Clay, as justice and charity will allow. He is evidently a man of uncommon powers of mind, of rare moral intrepidity, of heroic determination, and no hypocrite. In proclaiming freedom to his slaves, he has done simply an act of naked justice—relinquished stolen property—ceased to be a man-stealer; but, in view of his geographical location, his position in society, his family connexion, and his birth and education, as well as of his scorching denunciations of slavery, it indicates that he has great elements of character, which, if directed aright, may make him a blessing to millions, and a brilliant ornament to his country. At present, his sight is only so far restored as to allow him to "see men as trees walking"; and therefore he is not qualified to act as a guide, but needs to have his vision anointed afresh. But he inspires us with faith in his sincerity, in his readiness to be taught, in his resolute courage to carry out his convictions of duty. On such a man, we have no anathemas to bestow; and when he goes astray, we feel that a calm appeal to his reason and conscience, will affect him far more powerfully than the severest invective.

In his letter under review, he says—"It is my most decided determination to vote for Henry Clay, for President." To justify himself in this bad act, he resorts to a mode of reasoning, which, however satisfactory it may prove to pro-slavery whig editors, or however conclusive it may seem to those who never reflect, is really very shallow, as well as immoral.

His first plea is—"Men never have, and never will, in all cases, think alike." What is his deduction from this universal fact? Why—*ergo*, it is right to vote for Henry Clay to be the representative of a republican people, who tramples upon all the sacred rights of man, is an incorrigible slaveholder, and goes for the perpetuity of slavery on his native soil! The logic is kindred to that which runs—Moses was the meekest man; therefore, Balaam's ass spoke.

Again, "All government is necessarily a sacrifice, to some extent, of individual will." How this, if it be true, demonstrates the safety or duty of placing another man-stealer in the Presidential chair, we have not the logical acumen to perceive. Undoubtedly, twice two make four, but how this proves that twice four make eleven, is not so plain.

Once more—"That is the best government to each individual, which fosters or allows the most of what that individual believes to be conducive to the best interests." Without stopping to controvert this proposition, we are still puzzled to know how that justifies any man in giving his vote to elevate a profligate tyrant to the most powerful and responsible office in the the gift of the nation. Is *he* to be trusted with *human interests*, who scoffs at *human rights*, and actually holds sixty human beings in slavery, as chattels personal? O, awful infatuation!

"The question is not," says Mr. Clay, "can I find some man to vote for, among seventeen millions, who thinks in all respects as myself?" Truly does he say, this is not the question! Why then attempt to make a false issue? If, for this reason, he can vote for Henry Clay, why can he not, for a similar reason, vote for a Nero or Caligula? What, then, *is* the question? It is this—Can it, be right to bestow our suffrages on one who is the upholder and defender of a system of oppression, unsurpassed for its enormity, in the bloody annals of mankind—which compels its victims to rank with four-footed beasts, to live in a state of unchastity, to know no other God than the tyrant who claims them, to surrender up all their rights, to live and die in a state of heathenism—which has destroyed all reverence for virtue, liberty, and righteousness, in the land—which holds absolute sway over both the whig and democratic parties, and also over nearly every religious sect in the land—and which is hurrying this country to a terrible and remediless overthrow? How is it possible for any rational and intelligent man, to answer this question in the affirmative, without sacrificing the truth, and sporting with the sufferings of those who are held in ruthless bondage?

In his judgment, "the tariff, the currency, the lands, economy, executive and ministerial responsibilities, and many other interests, all depend on Mr. Clay's election for beneficial determination." It is not necessary to question the honesty of this opinion; but may we not ask, is it a rational one? If Henry Clay be elected, will it not be owing to the fact that he is a slaveholder, and an uncompromising friend of the slave system? Would he now be in nomination, if he were the avowed champion of equal rights and universal emancipation? Are the whig and democratic parties divided on the question of liberty and slavery? Is either Henry Clay, or Martin Van Buren, repudiated by the South for their anti-slavery tendencies? What power, but that of slavery, has controlled "the tariff, the currency, the lands," &c. &c. ever since the formation of the government? And what are all these interests, compared with the one great question of human liberty, without which, there can be no prosperity?

But we are told that if Henry Clay is elected, "the decision of 1840, passed by the people, will be confirmed, and the policy of the country settled." Whatever that decision was, it had no reference to the abolition of American slavery, but only to the defeat of one party, and the success of another, *both of which were the tools of the slavocracy!* Hence, it did not consult the honor, the purity, or the welfare of the republic; for nothing but righteousness can exalt a nation, and sin is a reproach and curse to any people. In view of the rapid mutations of political parties, it is certainly very absurd to suppose that if the whigs should again succeed, the policy of the country will be settled; for at the very next election, they might be totally routed. Besides, there can be no "settled policy" secured to the nation, so long as slavery is tolerated; for the interests of free labor, and slave labor, are antagonistical, and on the same soil, will not admit of reconciliation. It is insanity, to dream of having anything settled on a right basis, between the parties who have made "a covenant with death, and with hell are at agreement."

"After the policy of the country is settled," says C. M. Clay, "we shall have time to look about us, and project that other great reform," the overthrow of American slavery! For the sake of some imaginary advantages to ourselves, we must now shut our eyes to the abominations of that direful system, stop our ears to the cries of the oppressed, and petrify our hearts; and then, having succeeded, we can espouse the cause of liberty at our leisure! "Then shall we have time." Are you sure of this? Is it an easy thing to "circumvent God" in this way? Is it doing a good business for ourselves or our country, to postpone the claims of bleeding humanity to a more convenient season? Yes, says Henry Clay; yes, says the whig party; and, we lament to say, yes, says C. M. Clay! But Justice says no; Reason says no; Humanity says no; Liberty says no! O, let there be no delay in this work of repentance! How can we expect a just God to bless and prosper us, while we dishonor his image, rob and oppress our fellow-creatures, and applaud and honor those who are the pillars of the system of slavery?

There are some other points in this letter, which call for animadversion in another number.

LETTER

To the Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland.

NEW-YORK, April 2d, 1844.

Rev. Messrs. Cunningham, Burns, Lewis, and Chalmers, and H. B. Ferguson, Esq., Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland.

CHRISTIAN BRETHREN:—You have come from a land distinguished throughout Christendom, for the stand it now maintains, and has often, during the last three centuries maintained, and against ecclesiastical and civil tyranny. You come to seek the sympathy and solicit the aid of the friends of freedom in this land, in your noble struggle against civil dictation in sacred things. The abolitionists of the United States are also engaged in a struggle on behalf of the down-trodden in this land, whose rights, natural, civil, and religious, are taken from them—We respectfully tender to you, and the church you represent, our sympathy; and we shall be glad to give you our cordial support, if we can consistently do it.

You are probably aware that, as Presbyterians, you have in the southern part of this Union, between thirty and forty thousand of the professed brethren and sisters in Christ, whose situation is far more pitiable than that of the oppressed in your land. The Christian peasantry of Sutherland,* grievously as they suffer, know little of the iron despotism of their colored brethren in the southern part of this country. The duke who bears that title, insists that his tenants shall listen to the preachers whom he selects for them, or not build their dissenting churches on his land; and the civil courts sustain him in his alternative. The free church appeals to God, and to every God-fearing man, against this tyranny. In this republic, there are no dukes, but there are thousands of tyrants, some of whom are styled "honorable," who will not allow their slaves to learn to read the Bible, or attend upon preaching of their choice, and the civil courts sustain them in their prohibition. These *honorable* men, insist on the right of seizing the wives of the slaves, at any time, and of beating, or selling, or *humbling* them, as to them seems best; and of selling men, women, and children—and the law authorizes it. If they even murder one of their slaves, and God only knows how often this is done, though twenty, or one hundred, instead of "two or three," are ready to prove the fact, they only run the risk of being murdered in their turn, for the law does not suffer them to testify against men whose skin is whiter than their own. But it may be said, it is "Cæsar" who does these things, and what can be expected from Cæsar? What does the Church?—She declares from her highest to her lowest judicatories, that these things shall not be interfered with; that the system is legal—nay, even scriptural—and that they who declare it is an outrage against republicanism and the Bible, are fanatics and incendiaries.

We have reason to believe that neither the free church of Scotland, nor yourselves, are wholly ignorant of these things. It is, therefore, with astonishment and grief, that we have learned that you have commenced a tour through the slave States of this Union, with a view to solicit funds, as well of slaveholders as of other persons. Doubtless, you will be warmly greeted by the people, and especially by that portion who hold their fellow-men, and fellow-Christians in bondage. While they proffer you their sympathy, and money, you will be invited to occupy the pulpits of the ministers, and the kindest attentions will be lavished upon you. But it will be only while you seal your lips against any condemnation of slave-holding, and preach the gospel according to the usages of southern ministers, and the restrictions of the slaveholding members of their churches, that your preaching will be listened to with approbation, or even tolerated. Should you determine to preach, as you have been accustomed to do on your native hills, with special reference to the sins of the people to whom you preach, and with exhortations to all classes to act out the great principles of the gospel, "whether they will hear, or whether they will forbear," you will speedily learn that the flattering attentions with which you were welcomed, will cease; that no more offerings will be made to your treasury; that you will be notified to quit the district where you sojourn, "peaceably or forcibly."

You may exhort from the text, "Servants, obey your masters," but, unless you are prepared to have your tour abruptly terminated, speak not of the "image in which man was made;" of Cain's question, "Am I my brother's keeper?" of Moses's law, "In righteousness shalt thou judge thy neighbor:" of David's challenge; "What hast thou to do to declare my statutes? When thou sawest a thief, then thou consentedst with him, and hast been partaker with adulterers;" of Solomon's sayings, "The righteous considereth the cause of the poor, but the wicked regardeth not to know it. So I returned and considered all the oppressions that are done under the sun: and behold the tears of such as were oppressed, and they had no comforter; and on the side of the oppressors there was power, but they had no comforter;" of Isaiah's commands, "Cease to do evil: seek judgment, relieve the oppressed, judge the fatherless, plead for the widow;" of Christ's rule, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them, for this is the law and the prophets;" and his question, "How much better is a man than a sheep?" of Paul's exhortation, "Masters, give unto your servants that which is just and equal;" of James's upbraiding, "Go to, now, ye rich men. Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped down your fields, which is of you kept back by fraud, crieth." Discuss any of these texts as men representing a *free* church ought to discuss them, as ambassadors of Christ are bound, everywhere, and in all places, to discuss them, and you will find that the congratulations of the presbyters of the South, and their people, will be turned into execrations.

Lest you should imagine that we have imputed to the presbyters of the slaveholding States, sentiments and feelings so utterly repugnant to the character and profession of Christian ministers that you cannot credit the statement, we will state two or three things known to the whole country to be facts, that you may be convinced that we have used no exaggeration. A distinguished Presbyterian clergyman of Virginia, has threatened death to any avowed enemy of slavery, who can be caught where the system is in force. Another Presbyterian clergyman, of Alabama, disgraces the name he bears, by hinting that the fate of Haman may be that of the advocates of human rights, if they cross the Potomac. Another clergyman of Virginia, writing to his presbytery, winds up his epistle with a ludicrous imitation of the exhortation of the apostle, mixed with the barbarism of the lynch code—"Now dear Christian brethren, I humbly express it as my earnest wish, that you quit yourselves like men; if there be any stray goat of a minister among you tainted with the blood hound principles of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and *left to the public to dispose of him in other respects.*" These men are presbyters—leaders among their brethren—*primi inter pares*. Wherein, we demand, do they differ from the priest of the inquisition? Torquemada and his successors did not more than ferret out those who denounced their unrighteous gains. Silence, and excommunicate, and then leave them to the public to dispose of them in other respects! *They* did not do it, kind, holy men—oh no! they only excommunicated, and then delivered over to the secular arm.

We must say, respected brethren, in Christian fidelity, that your present position strikes us as singular and unfortunate. What! leave Britain because parliament insists on intruding unacceptable ministers into vacant parishes, and go to the slaveholding States in America, to tell your grievances, and get the sympathy of men, who, like a Senator of South Carolina, threaten hanging in spite of all the governments on earth, against those who merely say that their fellow-men, including the thirty or forty thousand of your Presbyterian brethren, should be allowed to read the Bible, and not be allowed to be robbed by law of their wives and children, and just wages! At home you complain of Sir Robert Peel, because he will not consent that your *Scotch* brethren shall *always* have the preacher of their choice, and you are actually going to tell the story of the wrongs of the free church of Scotland to men, who, like Governor McDuffie, of South

tion, especially to that portion of it engaged in the murderous system of slavery, and expostulated with those here professing the same Christianity, on account of their participation in a crime that sets at defiance its holy precepts.

Will you now, as you are eye-witnesses of the iniquitious system that filled you with such disgust and abhorrence at a distance, make common cause with *that* Christianity? Clasp hands with its defenders, and accept their blood-stained offerings? The fiend can well afford, we know, to pay you tens of thousands, for he knows that your countenance is worth millions to *him*. If he can purchase the silence of the successors of John Knox, and Andrew Thompson, if he can number *them* among his allies, he may well think his victory complete.

It is possible that you may alledge, in the language of the *American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions*, when they receive, nay, *solicit* the donations of slaveholders, and number among their members those who hold their fellow-men in slavery, that "you sustain no relation to the system that implies approbation." Let us briefly examine this. In 1832 Ann Pray, of Georgia, left a legacy to the A. B. C. F. M. of one fourth of certain negro slaves. The board declined the bequest—why, unless they thought it wrong to own such chattels? Suppose, instead of leaving the slaves, the testatrix had bequeathed their value in silver dollars, directing the bones and muscles, and immortal minds, to be brought to the hammer, and one-fourth of the proceeds to be handed over in the shape of a cheque on a bank, would the board have declined the offer? If not—if they would have received the cash, why turn from the human flesh? If they would have sent the money back, why solicit the money of slave-dealers? Is it not well known that slaves are continually bought and sold at the South, that professors of religion, of all denominations—ministers of the gospel even—traffic in human flesh? The committee of the Presbyterian synod of Kentucky, in 1834, declared, "Brothers, and sisters, husbands, and wives, parents, and children, are torn asunder and permitted to see each other no more. *These acts are daily occurring in the midst of us.*" They say, besides, "cases have occurred in our own denomination, where professors of the religion of mercy, have torn the mother from her children, and sent her into a merciless and returnless exile. Yet acts of discipline have rarely followed such conduct." In the year 1835, Mr. Stewart, of Illinois, declared in the Presbyterian general assembly, of the United States, "Ministers of the gospel, and doctors of divinity may engage in this unholy traffic, and yet sustain their high and holy calling. Elders, ministers, and doctors of divinity, are with both hands engaged in this practice." A minister of the Amita Presbytery, Mississippi, who is a public defender of the system of slavery, declares, "If buying, selling, or holding a slave for gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily, three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and *Presbyterians*, are of the devil."

How then can any missionary board, or other benevolent or religious association, or body of men—how can *you* solicit money from American slaveholders, in a way implying that you *recognize* them as Christians, and say: *We sustain no such relation to slavery as implies approbation of the system?* Actions speak louder than words. Are not the donations of slave-breeders, slave-dealers, and slaveholders, received as readily, and gratefully, as the earnings of honest industry? Why demur about receiving Ann Pray's legacy and solicit money from those engaged in holding men, women, and children in bondage? It is true that the amount given by professing Christians in the slave States falls very far short of the amount given by an equal number of Christians in the free States, of the same means, but it is the principle against which we contend, and not the amount of the sums received. It was not the size of Achan's wedge that troubled the camp of Israel.

Should the fact, that the Bible, tract, and missionary societies of this country solicit funds from slaveholders be considered as a justification of your making application to such persons, on behalf of the free church of Scotland, allow us to say that the example of these institutions, in this respect, is no proper precedent, unless the practice is right in itself. We observe farther that those societies, as has been often urged, are not held to be guiltless in this matter. You may not be aware that they are composed in part of slaveholders, and pro-slavery men, who have ever maintained an influence in their councils which neither their numbers, their contributions, nor their principles have justified, and that for several years past, there has been a growing sentiment in this country, that it is wholly inconsistent with the principles of Christianity, for religious or benevolent associations to solicit money from slaveholders, which is but the price of blood, for the purpose of converting men to the religion of Christ. Because the societies above mentioned will not refrain from fellowshipping slaveholders as Christians, and soliciting their money for religious purposes, a considerable number of the friends of the Redeemer, have declined contributing to their treasuries, and new organizations have been formed in the missionary department, and are contemplated in the other departments, to be free from the "wages of unrighteousness."

The Christian abolitionists of this land need your aid, dear brethren, in pulling down the strongholds of oppression, and they feel that you will not be sustained in your consciences, or by that numerous and venerated body which you represent, if you directly, or indirectly oppose them, by strengthening the hands of their opponents. You will hear the abolitionists of this country denounced by ministers, elders, and private professors of the Presbyterian church, as well at the North as at the South; but in order to judge how far the denunciations are correct, you will naturally compare their doctrines and measures, with the doctrines and measures of the abolitionists in Great Britain, and not take up an evil report on hearsay, and without due investigation. Our doctrines, and measures, you will find, if you personally investigate the matter, are identical with those of Wilberforce, Clarkson, Andrew Thompson, and the other worthies, who, amidst threats, calumny, and violence, carried on the anti-slavery cause in the fatherland, under the divine blessing, to a glorious consummation. For twelve years the abolitionists of this country have been contending with great earnestness—amidst reproach and contumely, not only from the slaveholding States, but from interested politicians, and professing Christians of every denomination—for the poor slaves, our brethren and fellow-countrymen; and for their own rights and privileges, as intended to be secured to them by their constitution of government. Believing that the American church is the bulwark of American slavery, they have labored to arouse it to a due sense of its sin, to repentance, and works meet for repentance. Some progress has been made. Our Christian brethren in England, Ireland, and Scotland, have aided in the good work by their prayers to God, and their remonstrances with the American church. With this aid we have sought to sever the unholy alliance subsisting between the slave power and the professed followers of Christ.

Now we *know* that if you, the commissioners of the free church of Scotland, solicit gold of southern slaveholders, to build up your cause, you will weaken our hands—strengthen incalculably the prejudices which are the bane of the colored man—soothe the South in her mad career—deaden still more the already portentous apathy of the North—and disappoint the friends of human rights, and of a pure gospel throughout the world. If you obtain the slaveholders' money, if the free church of Scotland accept it, it is certain that you will look with more tolerance than you would otherwise do, on the great iniquity of slavery; the lips of your church will be sealed—no more remonstrances will be sent over from your land to the slaveholding ministers, elders, deacons, and private members of the American churches; and an alliance of sympathy and interest will be established between the Scottish church, and the slavocracy of this Union. That tolerance, that sympathy, that alliance, will be the beginning of mischief. Who but God can trace its course and close?

We have said that some progress has been made in arresting the triumph of slavery over our free institutions, and in saving the churches from unqualified acquiescence in its soul-destroying pretensions. The Presbyterian church in this country, at the commencement of the anti-slavery movement already alluded to, had well-nigh surrendered to the claims of slavery. In 1794 she declared slaveholding "man-stealing," but, unfortunately, to doctrine she did not add discipline—to her faith, *virtue*; and therefore the plague spread from the day of her decision up to 1816, when the declaration was removed from her confession of faith. In 1818 she made what seemed a dying struggle, to free herself from the deadly embrace of her enemy. She then called slavery "a gross violation of human rights," and exhorted the violators "to remove it totally, *as soon as the public welfare would allow.*" The exhorters forgot that public welfare would not justify, even for a moment, "a gross violation of human rights." This exhortation was tainted with the infidelity that expediency would justify sin—that it was right to do evil "that good might come." No wonder the good never come. Accordingly, in 1816, she declared, "it was impossible for her to deliberate, and to decide judiciously on the subject of slavery in relation to the Church." Thus, in forty-two years, the Presbyterian church of this country, lost the power of even speaking against slavery; the power of acting had no doubt departed long before. But although the Presbyterian churches of the United States, as represented in the general assemblies, have stopped their ears against the groans of the slave, and the expostulations of the abolitionists, a spirit has been aroused in some of the churches in favor of freedom, and we fain believe it is increasing. Will you aid us in spreading the light, or will you aid the enemies of freedom in extinguishing it?

Respected Christian brethren: Be warned! You are now sojourning in the home of the serpent. We have, it is true, his slime and his folds in the North, but his head and his fangs are in the South. Are you in no danger from the fascination of his eye? Beloved guests from our mother country, suffer our friendly and frank expostulation. Is not the free church of Scotland virtually here in you? Can you fall into grievous error without injuring her? And will not the magnitude of the mischief be in proportion to the greatness of your mistake? Consider, you left the establishment with nothing but your characters. Houses, lands, salaries,—all was left behind, except Christian character. Never did that jewel of your souls shine so brightly as in the dark hour when you went forth bearing the reproach of Christ. You are at war with oppression, and you come to us for the sinews of war. Can you suppose that the wages of iniquity are of any value to *you?*

Now, suppose a Presbyterian minister or elder, of Virginia, of South Carolina, or New Orleans, whose money is the fruit of slavery, should offer you a hundred dollars, can you consistently receive it, while the donor advocates slavery, justifies himself in holding slaves, or threatens the friends of freedom. Should he fling some of his dollars to you, because, forsooth, he affects to sympathize with the oppressed condition of the men of Ross and Southerland, will you, *can* you, DARE you stoop to pick them up? Oh, instead of this, why not assert the dignity of your calling and country, and say to him, "Friend, we seek not yours, but you. We could not have believed, until we came among you, that in this Christian republic there are nearly three millions of human beings in the condition of heathen, and in some respects in a worse condition. We must believe this, because your Presbyterian brethren of South Carolina and Georgia, say so. That heathenism is owing to slavery. Slavery will not allow its subjects to read the Bible, nor testify where white men are concerned. Slavery allows the slave members of your Presbyterian church to live in adultery without discipline. It even recommends such to sisterchurches, as members in good and regular standing! That system you and your brethren recommend by your example,—never preach against—nay, even palliate, and defend from your pulpits. Out of your own mouths, then, you are condemned as the abettors of the worst heathenism under heaven. We dare not recognize you as brethren. God forbid we should touch your money. When shall we open our mouths for the dumb, in the cause of all such as are appointed to destruction, if not now? We see them drawn to death, and the chain in your hand—they "are ready to be slain," and you hold the sword. Shall we forbear to deliver them? Shall we say we knew it not? "Doth not he that pondereth the heart consider it? And he that keepeth thy heart, doth he not know it? And shall not he render unto every man according to his work? Friend, we will not take your money!"

What will the enemies of the freechurch—the state hirelings—say, if you carry home the slaveholders' bounty? Will they not taunt you thus: These are the men who could not swallow the bread of their sovereign, as the price of their submission to tyranny, but their consciences, honor, and Christian principle did not revolt at begging a pittance from the pulpits of tyrannical oppression, in Washington, Charleston, and New Orleans? What O'Connell refused to touch when brought to his hand, Dr. Chalmers sent, and Drs. Cunningham and Burns went 4,000 miles to solicit!

This, Christian brethren, is a deed we devoutly deprecate, and we respectfully and earnestly implore of you, not to fellowship slaveholders as Christians, not to solicit their "filthy lucre," not to dishonor the free-church of Scotland, by flattering American Presbyterians in their sins; not to have your lips sealed here or on your return, by those who bind you to silence on the sinfulness of slavery, by their courtesies or benefactions; not to weaken the hands of American abolitionists, and strengthen the bands that bind the poor slaves—not to offend God, by using "the wages of unrighteousness," obtained in this country, to build up His cause in your own land. But should you, despite of our friendly warning and urgent Christian remonstrance, solicit money acquired by the sale of American Christians, and men made heathen by the cruel system of slavery, we can only express our firm confidence that your constituents, the free church of Scotland, will refuse to receive the polluted silver and gold, and return it to those who gave it.

ARTHUR TAPPAN,
SIMEON S. JOCELYN,
CHRISTOPHER RUSH,
WILLIAM SHOTWELL,
LEONARD GIBBS,
LEWIS TAPPAN,
THEODORE S. WRIGHT,
SETH W. BENEDICT,

Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Communications.

AN APPEAL.

To Abolitionists on the Subject of the Dissolution of the Union.

It is not to be wondered at, in view of the grasping disposition of the slave power, and from the fact that the influence of the general government has been constantly and unconstitutionally exerted to uphold the slaveholding interest, that the sentiments of love towards the Union should be gradually weakened in the minds of all true friends of freedom, until at length a dissolution of the Union should be openly advocated by many of the most sensible and honest men in our ranks. I say this is not to be wondered at, although, at the same time, I think it is very much to be regretted. I believe it has its origin in a one-sided view of the subject, and I trust to be able, without occupying too much time or space, to prove this to every impartial mind. The more necessary does a calm and candid examination of this matter become, from the fact, that efforts are being made to make the American Anti-Slavery Society take ground openly in favor of a dissolution of the Union; a thing undreamed of at the formation of the society, and which, if proposed then, would have been recoiled from with horror.

What is the great object for which the abolitionists of the country have banded themselves together? Let it be kept in mind always; for forgetfulness of it has been the cause of all the wrong steps that have been taken, and of all the bitterness in our ranks. That great object was, *the peaceful abolition of slavery.* I say, the *peaceful* abolition of slavery. Our work was to be a *moral* work. We were conscious that any abolition effected by force, or in defiance of the will of the masters, would not be followed by the blessed fruits that we wished to realize. We were content to make it a *life* work; willing to wait long, and toil hard, that emancipation, when it came at last might be full of blessing; that it might have its *perfect* work, blessing both master and slave. We had confidence in the power of God, the power of Truth, the power of Love, to convert the slaveholder to our principles. We deprecated insurrection, because we knew it could only make the master more the enemy of the slave, and the slaves of the master. It could only make the confusion of slavery worse confounded.

There was a second object we wished to attain. We saw we were mixed up with the South in innumerable ways. We had been, and were now, partakers in the sin of slavery. We traded with the South, we consumed slave-produce, our forefathers had been engaged in the slave-trade, we were bound by the Constitution to put down insurrections, and to deliver up fugitive slaves: and we wished to clear our own skirts of the stain of blood. But this second object was not to be effected by measures undertaken expressly for it, but was to be a consequence of the accomplishment of the first. Our own skirts were to be cleared, by laboring for, and effecting the abolition of slavery.

This plan contemplated the continued existence of the Union. The first object was the *great* object with us. The slave was ever before us in all his miseries and all his degradation. We saw, to be sure, that our own skirts were not white, we saw also, how slavery crippled our own freedom, how it fettered the liberty of speech, and of the press, how it made mere tools of our public men; but the great sight ever before us was the misery of the slave and the moral corruption of the master. We even rejoiced that we could not be free ourselves, so long as he was bound; for it was a constant stimulus to work out his freedom. We saw that our connection with the South made us partakers of other men's sins; but we did not object to it, for we knew that that connection gave us also a tremendous power over the South, as well as the South over us. We saw that though for a while it would be an up-hill work, against a pro-slavery Church, and a pro-slavery State, that when that Church and State were both conquered, it would be as hard for the South to resist it, as it had been for us to overcome it. The Union leagues us with slavery, but it also leagues the South with liberty. It joins Massachusetts with South Carolina, but it also joins South Carolina to Massachusetts. And do we fear the result? Is liberty less strong than despotism? Is there more to fear for the liberty of Massachusetts, than for the slavery of South Carolina? Then slavery *is* a stronger basis for a State than liberty. The South need no longer cry disunion; the North stays with her at the North's peril.

Now it is evident that in the minds of many abolitionists, especially in New England, the old ground has just been inverted. Instead of seeking to obtain our own rights and to clear our own skirts by abolishing slavery, they seek now to abolish slavery by refusing to have anything to do with slavery or the South; or, as the sum and substance of the whole, by dissolving every connection between us. Instead, now, of the slave's wretchedness and the South's corruption being constantly before their sight, calling for help in God's name; their own crippled rights, and the baseness and subserviency of the North, are ever before it. To tell the candid truth the taunts and persecutions of the slaveholders have goaded us into selfishness, and partial forgetfulness both of them and the slave.

But this selfish feeling could never have grown so rampant, had it not been for a belief that has long been held self-evident among abolitionists, that the dissolution of the Union would be, in fact, the abolition of slavery. Now, granting this to be true, granting that it is but the immense physical weight of the free States that holds the slaves in subjection; granting that if the Union were dissolved, and the weight of that physical power removed, and the slaves awakened to a sense that now there was no salvation for them but in their own efforts, and that they should rise in insurrection—is this what we want? This might be an abolition of slavery, but would it be the *peaceable* abolition of slavery?—Would it be that abolition which has been before our eyes as the bright sunshine and the peaceful moonlight, amid all the storms through which we have passed? That peaceful abolition which is alike to bless the master and the slave? Oh, war in any shape is fearful; but a *servile* war—a war which spares neither age nor sex—a war of massacre, of extermination—a war which never can be followed by an honorable peace—which must end either in the expulsion of the whites from the South, or in the extermination, or the renewed and more dreadful slavery of the blacks—is *this* that glorious end for which we have toiled and suffered for twelve years? My friends, before you accustom yourselves to speak calmly of such an alternative, reflect seriously upon what it is. Even if the slaveholders have none of your sympathy, remember there are wives, and mothers, and daughters, and innocent babes, in the South.

Which side would prevail in such a contest, God only knows; but, judging from history, and from the circumstances of the two parties, taking into view the fact that no insurrection in ancient or modern times has ever been successful; and that while the numbers are nearly equal in many sections, the intellicence, the knowledge, the munitions of war, the wealth, the everything that makes war successful, is in the hands of the whites, we may with great certainty conclude that a large portion of the slave population would be exterminated, and the remainder made to bow beneath even a more intolerable servitude. But let it result as it may, certain it is, that it must engender between the two races a mortal hatred, and end in the ruin of the one or the other.

For my own part, however, I do not believe that there would be any extensive insurrection. When I read of the ancient republics with ten or fifteen slaves to every freeman, I do not doubt the ability of the South, even if separated from the free States, to hold the mass of her slaves. There might be a few partial outbreaks, but they could not in the nature of things, succeed. The slave can never regain his liberty by insurrection.

If the line of separation was drawn exactly between the free and the slave States, some of the slaves near the line might be able to make their escape; though I question whether they would be much more able than they are now; for of the many fugitives that reach the free States, I suppose not more than one in five is ever arrested. The difficulty lies in breaking away from their attachments, from wife, or mother, or child, from the old home, and in the danger of being arrested in the slave States. These difficulties, even if the Union were dissolved, would be equally great.

But the line would not be drawn exactly between the free and the slave States. It is evident that if the people of all the free States could be brought to a state of mind so hostile to slavery, as to be favorable to dissolution as a choice of evils, there would be no need of dissolution. And in this, by the way, lies the absurdity of making, as some recommend, the dissolution of the Union our main object. It is only through an intense hatred of slavery, that the people of the free States can ever be brought to favor a dissolution of the Union; but if we could inspire them with this intense hatred of slavery, we could wield the general government, the Church, trade, everything, against slavery, and dissolution would be no object to us. Long before abolition becomes strong enough in the free States to dissolve the Union, it will be strong enough to abolish slavery, or to confine it at least within its narrow constitutional limits.

But many, who are even opposed on general grounds, to dissolution, say, if Texas is annexed, we must dissolve; that such a measure is, of itself, virtually a dissolution of the Union. My dear friends, if we were strong enough to assert the latter in action, we should be strong enough to prevent annexation. Let us fight manfully against Texas, but if we fail, depend upon it, we shall also fail at any attempt at dissolution; that is, at any attempt to make a *general* division between the free and the slave States.

It is important that New England abolitionists should bear this in mind. New England may recede from the Union, but she cannot, at the present time, dissolve it. The friends of human freedom are not strong enough, either in the middle or the western States, to carry their States with her, if they would. She must go by herself, for we cannot go with her. Our people are too pro-slavery, too sordid, too tame of soul, to be moved to action; they do not care enough about freedom.

New England, then, may recede; but, if she does, she plays into the enemy's hands. The South would rather she would recede. They would rather she would recede, if they can keep the middle and western States, and annex Texas. They would rather she would recede, whether or not they obtain Texas. She is a continual thorn in the slaveholders' sides. They would rather, I repeat, that she was out of the Union than in it. I allude here, not to the entire South, but to that portion who are madly bent on holding on to slavery. There is a large number of southern men, (more than is believed,) who secretly rejoice at the progress of abolition principles.

Will New England, then, play blindly into the hands of the pro-slavery men of the South? Will she, by receding from the Union, rear up a wall to prevent her anti-slavery from flowing out so freely over the entire land? Will she leave the abolitionists of the middle States, and of the West, and of the South, to fight the battle alone, in the councils of the nation, and in the assemblies of the people? Will she put herself in such a position, that all she shall find opportunity to say, shall be held up to our citizens as foreign interference? As an abolitionist of Pennsylvania, I protest against such a suicidal course. We cannot spare New England from the battle. We need her orators in our midst; we need them and their votes in Congress. She is the little lump of leaven, that is to leaven the whole country. She is bound, having begun the combat, to remain to the end; cheering every good blow that the Cassius Clays of the South strike, and crying shame at every false one of the Calhouns and the McDuffies.

And what would New England gain by receding? Would she purify herself—would she prevent all danger of having her own fair beauty defaced and scarred? How heroic—how worthy of her pilgrim sires! Would she cut all connection between herself and slavery, so that she may no longer be responsible for the buying and selling of men? What a false and fatal delusion! What—has she not assisted in riveting the fetters of the slave, and is she to expiate her guilt by simply withdrawing, and refusing any further assistance? Will that undo what she has done? No, she cannot clear even her own skirts, in any other way than by abolishing slavery.—The only choice she has, is between a moral and peaceable, or a forcible abolition. She cannot, by simply withdrawing, and becoming passive, cancel her duty to the slave. She may say that, after her withdrawal, she can still exert her *moral* influence; but I tell you she cannot, and will not. That she cannot, to half the extent that she now does, is evident: that she will not, is also evident; for it is but the consciousness of being, in the sight of God, responsible for slavery, that now nerves her people to do and suffer so much in the cause. Were they out of the Union, and convinced they were no longer responsible for it, though the anti-slavery feeling might become more general, it would lose a hundred fold in energy and strength. I thank God that New England *is* responsible for slavery. I thank God that we are all verily guilty concerning our brother; for in this, lies the hope of the slave's freedom.

Let us endeavor, then, to work out the great problem for this nation, and this century—*the peaceful abolition of slavery, without the dissolution of the Union.* Slavery must be abolished, and the Union must be preserved—we have not done our day's work well, if we fail in this. Even if Texas should be annexed, let us not give up the Union; let us not undo our fathers' work; but, on the contrary, do an equal labor in our day, by rendering it more perfect. Let us oppose annexation to the last.—Let us oppose it as men who know that it brings a fearful strength to our enemies; as men who seek to preserve their country from the retribution, which, as certain as there is a God in heaven, must follow the commission of such a great national sin; as men who would prevent another portion of God's green earth from being polluted with the mingled fears and blood of slavery; as men whose hearts shudder at the rearing of human beings to be sold like brutes, at the auction-mart; as men who reverence God and his holy commandments. But even if Texas is annexed, let us not be disheartened. The truth is mighty, and shall prevail. If we are faithful, in God's own time shall we prevail. Oh, blessed day!—when the slave shall be at length free; free with the consent of his master; free, through the might of truth, and love; free, through the might which the Lord gives! Then the South, now smitten as with leprosy, the curse of God upon her, crying out ever from her desolation, unclean! unclean!—shall arise, and put on her beautiful garments. Her wilderness shall blossom as the rose. God speed the day!

O.

PHILADELPHIA, April 14, 1844.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, APRIL 25, 1844.

Take Notice.—There is a paper published in this city, called the New-York Standard, and letters and papers intended for us, often get miscarried to that office. Our friends and correspondents will please be sure and direct to us, as the *Anti-Slavery* Standard.

LETTERS OF THE LATE BISHOP ENGLAND,

Addressed to the Honorable John Forsyth, on the subject of slavery.

The bishop enters into elaborate details of the acts of popes and councils in respect to slaves, to prove the consistency of the practice of the Roman church, with his interpretation of the Apostolic Letter. The grand distinction which he aims to establish, is, that the *slave-trade*, kidnapping, and the enslaving of captives, were condemned, while slavery was sanctioned and practised by the Church.

To this end, decrees of a great number of councils, held in different parts of Christendom, are cited, by which slaves are prohibited from being ordained as priests and deacons, without the previous consent of their masters; also, letters of popes, directing the arrest and return of runaway slaves. Among many curious documents drawn from the archives of the first six centuries, of the Church, we have a deed of gift, executed by Pope Gregory the Great, who died in the year 604, conveying to Theodore, the counsellor, the slave Acosimus, as follows:

"*Gregory to Theodore, the Counsellor:*

"It is fit that those who labor for the benefit of the Church, should enjoy a reward from the Church; that they, who voluntarily, and of their own accord, have undertaken burdensome duties, should be worthily assisted by our provision. Because, therefore, We have known that you, Theodore, our counsellor, a most eloquent man, were not well provided with the service of slaves, We have ordered that a boy, by name Acosimus, of the Sicilian nation, should be given up, and delivered to your right and dominion. And as you already have him in your possession, by delivery upon our will, it was necessary to fortify you with the authority of this writing, as a testimony to the future, and for protection of the gift; so that by God's protection, you may have power to possess him, as his lord and master; always, securely, forever, and without any question being raised of his being, in any way, taken back. Nor, indeed, do We believe that there is any one, who would desire, or would attempt, in any way, to revoke so small a bounty given to you for your devotion; since it would be shameful to undo the good deeds of our predecessors, as it would to teach others that each could, from time to time, make the revocation of his own gift."

In this deed of the "Great and good St. Gregory," the bishop finds an authoritative precedent for all the sales of immortal cattle in the South! He might as well quote the enormities of Pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, as authority for committing murder, robbery, and incest; and argue thence, that these crimes are consistent with Christianity!

We cheerfully accord to this writer the praise of impartiality in his historical citations. The testimony of his church, as exhibited by him, is uniform, in favor of the sanctity and inviolability of the marriage tie betwixt slaves. Masters were never permitted to rupture it, nor to sell the children from their parents, as the following document shows:

"*Gregory to Maximian, Bishop of Syracuse:*

"We are told of so many bad things done in that province, that we are led to believe, which may God forbid, the place must soon be destroyed.

"Now the bearer of these presents complained to us in a pitiable manner, that many years ago some man, whom I know not, belonging to the church of Messina, stood as his sponsor at baptism, and prevailed upon him by extreme urgency, to marry his servant, by whom he says he has now young children, and whom now this man has violently taken away, and sold to another. If this be true, you, our beloved, will see plainly, how unheard of and cruel is the evil. We therefore admonish you to look into, and to sift so great a crime, with that earnestness which we assuredly know you have, in matters of piety. And should you come to knew that the fact is, as the aforesaid bearer has stated, you will be careful, not only to bring back to its former state that which was badly done, but you will quickly, by all means, have that punishment inflicted, which may appease God. Give a severe lecture to the bishop that neglected to correct or to amend the people, who do such things; setting before him that, if a like complaint comes to us again, of any one, who belongs to him, canonical process for punishment shall issue, not against the one that shall have done the wrong, but against himself."

This, Bishop England tells us, was one of the results of the benign influence of Christianity, which "began to mitigate the evils of slavery, by giving to this dependent upon his fellow-men the right to the holiest of those bonds, by which parents and children were bound by the ties of religion, of nature, and of affection. We may therefore regard this as the period when the Christian religion had vindicated for the slave this common right of secure marriage, to which nature has given a claim which religion has always recognized."

The advocate ought to have an honester cause, or the cause, a dishonester advocate. It is the completest self-stultification, to adduce such facts and documents in defense of southern slavery. Is it not notorious to the whole world, that the marriage tie, throughout the slave-States, yields to the master, either for the purpose of sale, or for any other purpose, as a tow string to fire? Is it not also notorious, that the Protestant church has openly and expressly sanctioned this, and the Catholic has skulked it, as the bishop does in this very book? We thank him, however, for the inference which his language suggests, viz: that Christianity has not yet "*begun* to mitigate the evils of slavery" in the southern States. It is too true; and *his* church must take its full share of the opprobrium.

The practice of the Catholic Church has not been uniform and consistent in regard to the *slave-trade*; and we might adduce from the documents contained in this work, proofs that the Apostolic Letter does not condemn the slave-trade, just as conclusive as those by which the writer endeavors to make it out, that he does not condemn slavery. Take the following letter of the same "St. Gregory the Great."

"*Gregory to Vitalis, Proctor of Sardinia:*

"Know, experienced sir, that Boniface, our notary, the bearer of these presents, has been sent by us to your place, to purchase some *Barbary slaves*, for the use of the hospital; and therefore, you will be careful to concur diligently and attentively with him, that he may buy them at a good rate, and such as would be found useful for the service of the hospital. And that having bought them, he may, under the protection of God, very speedily return hither. Do you, then, be prompt to show yourself, in this business, so as to exhibit your affection for those who serve the hospital, and for whose use the purchase is made; and that they may have it in their power to commend you to us for your zeal in their regard."

The men thus purchased, were Africans, made captives by the Vandals, and transported by them to the island of Sardinia. Thither, St. Gregory sent his notary to purchase them.

It is in vain to look for consistency in the practice of any slaveholders, lay, or ecclesiastical. Truth is one, falsehood a legion. The United States *license* the slave-trade for a fee on one side of a degree of latitude, and on the other, *hang* for it! How absurd and futile is it, then, to rummage the records of churches and States, to learn from the precedents existing there, what is the duty of Christians, and what are the rights of man!

(To be concluded.)

☞ We have but a word to say to "E." in the last Standard. He told the abolitionists, and the country, that "he had examined the journals," and found *two votes* of the Hon. John McKeon, *against the gag*, and not *one* in favor of it. We showed, by the journals, that Mr. McKeon never gave a single *final* vote against the gag; that he gave a *direct* vote for *restoring* it after it was rescinded, on motion of Mr. Adams, at the first session of the 27th Congress, which vote, had it been against the gag, would have made a *tie*; and if the speaker had voted the same way, as there is every reason to believe he would, it would have *remained* forever rescinded! And furthermore, that Mr. McKeon gave more than a dozen *indirect* votes at that, and subsequent sessions, in support of the gag, and that on one of those occasions, his vote *alone*, and for the *second time*, prevented its rescission.

All this "E." admits to be true, but can see "no criminality in it." We never applied to it that epithet. But does it prove Mr. McKeon deserving of commendation from abolitionists, and us recreant to duty, blinded by whig prejudices, and false to the abolition cause, in not bestowing it upon him, in the Standard? This was the issue which "E." raised, as will be seen by recurring to the Standard, of November 30th, 1843.

Letter to the Commissioners of the Free Church of Scotland.

This appropriate address is inserted on another page. We publish it with great pleasure. At the same time we feel bound to express our disapproval of the exclusive spirit in which it has been got up, and which has prevented its authors from inviting the concurrence of the abolitionists residing in this city, if not elsewhere. Their co-operation, (we presume without an exception,) would have been cordially given, and could not have failed to add greatly to the value and effect of the measure, both at home and abroad. The propriety of this course was more obvious, because the few signers of the address, assume to speak for "the abolitionists of the United States," and not simply for "the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society," which body, in fact, has only a fictitious existence.

We are glad, however, that the measure has been thought of and executed, and only regret that the spirit alluded to will, in all probability, impair its utility.

In the name of outraged and suffering humanity, we entreat the Scottish commissioners for the love of God, and the reputation of their church, to *reconsider* the determination to accept for it offerings stained with the blood of souls.

The case reminds us of a very brief and rough, but effective speech, made in the Massachusetts legislature half a century ago. One of the representatives from Maine, [John Gardner,] was called upon to express his opinion of the merits of two candidates for an office, to which the House was about to elect. He answered as follows: "The first, Mr. Speaker, is an honest, sensible fellow, for whom I shall cheerfully give my vote. As for the other, he is a preaching, praying, psalm-singing s—— of a b——, that would steal timber to build a church." The first was elected almost unanimously.

LETTER FROM WASHINGTON.

WASHINGTON, April 21st, 1844.

You will see by Mr. *Belser's* speech, of which I have given a sketch under the head of "Congress," that we are beginning to have an *eclaircissement* with our Southern brethren. The Texas battle will be fought on the true ground, whatever comes of it, viz: the protection and extension of slavery, and the pernicious political power and influence upon the industry and destiny of this country, emanating from it. What Mr. Belser avowed on the floor of the House, the leading Southern members have avowed privately for several weeks, not only in lobbies and committee rooms, but also in the recesses of the State department. I am credibly informed that the Secretary of State in one of his conferences with the Mexican minister on the subject of Texas, said that "the blacks were very happy at the South, far happier than they could be if free; that it could not, however, be disguised that Christendom is combined against the institution of slavery; that it is thereby exposed to imminent danger; and that it was, as the only resource against this danger, and not from any disposition to treat Mexico ill, or to have a collision with her, that the negotiation for the annexation of Texas, was entertained." The Mexican minister is represented to have asked in reply, "Why, if this government wished to refrain from treating Mexico ill, and to avoid a collision with her, they did not leave Texas as she is, an independent nation, capable of maintaining her independence, which the recognition of her, on our part, had supposed. There was no probability that the Texans would abolish slavery." But, rejoined Calhoun, "the abolitionists are formidable both in this country and in Europe. There are but 25,000 slaves in Texas, and they can *buy* them, and set them free."

The means now resorted to, to carry the treaty, are absolutely incredible. Much and long as I have believed in the total depravity of slave politicians, I could never have conceived of such daring and desperate profligacy as they are preparing to employ at this crisis. Gen. *Gaines*, so well known for his base and illegal proceedings on and *beyond* the frontier, in 1839, and for his order to our troops last summer, to disregard any boundary this side of the *Rio Bravo*, has been directed to repair to the scene of his former infamy. He is to concentrate there three thousand men; and the President has given an assurance to the Texan government, that they shall receive aid from us, should it be necessary, immediately upon the termination of the armistice. This may seem incredible, but I have not the slightest doubt that this assurance has been given. As little can there be that Gaines will lend himself to the execution of any order, however unconstitutional and criminal, which Tyler may issue to that effect. The peace of the nation is therefore in imminent danger. It is liable to be compromitted in a moment, without consulting Congress, which alone has power to involve this nation in a war, and without any previous discussion or knowledge on the part of the people. You know it is a favorite dogma with many in this country, who ought to know better, that once engaged in a war, it is the duty of all to put a hand to, and get us out with success, and honor. Nothing more is wanting to bring about a sudden collision, than to imitate the conduct of General Jackson, and General Gaines, his wretched tool, in 1836. Mexico is at peace at home, has a stable, and vigorous government, and an efficient army, and rely upon it, the old game cannot now be played with impunity. Still Mr. Calhoun, in the face of the most explicit, and positive declarations of the Mexican minister, seeks to wheedle senators into a belief that war will not ensue upon the accomplishment of annexation. Those declarations, I have reason to believe, were in substance, as follows: "We are sincerely averse to war with any nation, and particularly with the United States; but if you annex Texas, you leave us no other alternative. If we submit to this encroachment, we invite new ones, and we shall be compelled at last to fight, but with means constantly diminished, both as respects the resources and spirit of our people. You may beat us, but we must fight, be the consequences what they may.

The Mexican minister, I understand, will leave Washington for New-York immediately. I understand also, that the British minister has informed the Texan envoys, that Great Britain will not have a political connection with Texas, on any terms; and that one of those envoys, [Henderson,] has said that they have now no resource but annexation to the United States. I understand further, that the British minister took great offense, as no doubt his government will, on discovering the duplicity of the Texan government in carrying on the farce of asking and obtaining their mediation between Mexico and Texas, on the basis of their independence, which they were negotiating here to extinguish.

To-morrow the treaty will go to the Senate, and it is probable that their action upon it will not be long delayed. It is expected that a report by *C. J. Ingersoll*, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the committee on foreign relations, in favor of annexation, will be simultaneously made in the House of Representatives, and that it will conclude either with a joint resolution, declaring Texas annexed, or with a resolution to express the *opinion* of the House in favor of it. This may be intended first to influence the Senate, and secondly, to prepare for a legislative act of annexation, upon the rejection of the treaty.

Mr. Clay, *has* defined his position, and you will probably receive his address before our next publication goes to press. In that case I think it will be worth a while to get it in, if it be not *very* long, even at the expense of some delay.—D. L. C.

LETTER FROM THE SOUTH.

A friend of the editor, thus writes from the far South: "I am growing brave; or, to express myself better, the truth makes me strong. Since I came here, I have often been met with the question, 'Are you an abolitionist?' To which a decided 'Yes,' is always ready. 'But are not your views modified by the actual observation of slavery?' they ask; and this question, I always answer in the affirmative; but I am always careful to have it understood *what* the modification is. I tell them that what was once opinion, has changed to knowledge; but that my visit to the South has in no other sense changed my anti-slavery views. It troubles me to be in the midst of the oppressed and down-trodden of our race, and not do somewhat, be it never so little, to lighten their burden. Perhaps my weariness of a seemingly unproductive life, connected as it now is with a deep and growing sense of the fearful wrong that man is doing to his brother, may have produced in me a morbid consciousness of individual duty and capacity in this great and holy work.—However this may be, I have the satisfaction of knowing that if I have been deficient in actual service, my voice has always been raised for the bondman. My lips have never failed to bear witness to the truth, whenever a way was open for my word. In no circumstances or presence have I ever shrunk from a firm and earnest expression of my sentiments. Fear never comes till after I have spoken. I know the inflammability of Southern feeling, and the bitterness of Southern prejudice, on this subject; and I am well aware that I am alone in the midst of apologists for slavery. But I never think of all this, till my say is said; and then I am sometimes surprised at my own temerity. I am happy to say that, notwithstanding my undisguised and atrocious heresy, none but courteous words have been addressed to me; with one or two unfortunate exceptions. I have often been surprised at the candor and calmness of slaveholders in talking with me on this subject. They have repeatedly spoken to me with a degree of frankness and feeling, which the North generally would deem quite incredible. A friend of mine who has two hundred slaves, told me he heartily wished he could be rid of them all; and this from principle. The whole system is abhorrent to his nature, yet he deems no epithets too opprobrious for the abolitionists. This impatience of Northern interference, so general here, is to me full of promise. It betrays a deep, uncom

Anti-Slavery Items.

THE COLORED AND WHITE RACES.—The following extracts from the Maryland Colonization Journal, are a curious commentary on the frequent assertion, that it is necessary to ship off the colored people to Liberia, because "they are not capable of taking care of themselves:"

We have long maintained, and we believe we are supported by facts—by history—that the most efficient agents, the most respectable and popular governors of colonies, and the most successful missionaries, preachers, and teachers, that have labored in Liberia since the establishment of that colony, have been colored men. We make the assertion, broad and unqualified, and its truth must be admitted by every unprejudiced man who will make himself thoroughly acquainted with the colony for the past twelve years.

If it is alledged that the assertion is too general to admit of investigation, and in tangible, we hesitate not, to compare the more prominent actors in Maryland, in Liberia, one by one, and appeal to any one acquainted with the individuals, for the justness of our conclusions, even to Dr. Savage himself, and we trust we may be excused for introducing the names of individuals which have been often before the public, as our only object in so doing, is, to prove the correctness of our position. We would ask Dr. Savage, why would not Mr. Polk, and B. V. R. James, colored teachers, and assistants, in the A. B. C. F. mission, well compare for efficiency, ability, or purity of life, with Messrs. Byron, Appleby, and Perkins, white assistants in the Protestant Episcopal mission? We know not. Again, take the Rev. Mr. Payne, one of the white principals of the Episcopal mission, (and we believe, if we are to judge from reports, the most successful one in that mission,) and in what respect as a preacher and missionary does he excel the Rev. A. D. Williams, at present, the colored principal of the Methodist mission at Cape Palmas. Both of these gentlemen are characterized for their extreme amiability, mildness, and devotion to the great cause in which they have been engaged. Then take two who have often been compared, and between whose moral constitutions there existed the strongest resemblance, viz: the Rev. J. L. Wilson, the principal of the A. B. C. F. mission, at Cape Palmas, and the Rev. John Revey, late colonial secretary—both Calvinistic clergymen, and both long laborers in Africa. The former, well known throughout the United States, and Africa, for his devotedness to the cause of African christianization, and of whom we have often had occasion to speak as one of the *best* men that it was ever our good fortune to know; yet we cannot doubt that he would express deep satisfaction in the assurance of *living* and *dying* like John Revey. We fear not to hazard the assertion, that any one well knowing the character and standing of these two men, will pronounce a comparison of them, in point of intellectual capacity and moral worth, just and obvious.

Then compare Dr. Savage himself, with all the advantages of an academical education at Yale, the subsequent acquisition of two liberal professions, and the benefits attendant upon free intercourse with the prominent men of both, with the colored physician of the colony in which he resides, Dr. McGill, who spent three years in his preparatory studies, and obtaining his doctorate, and that too under the disadvantages necessarily attendant upon the prosecution of his profession in this country; and if professional success is to be considered the criterion of merit, in whose favor does the scale preponderate? Certainly the disparity between them is not so great that either could object to the comparison.

Of the female missionaries and teachers in Liberia, let us inquire who among the many intelligent, accomplished, and pious ladies that have solemnly devoted themselves to this hazardous field of labor, possesses the physical ability, or has evinced that capacity for the instruction of the native youths, as Elizabeth Thompson; and where is the female missionary that has labored so untiringly, perseveringly and successfully? Here we institute no comparison: with the highest appreciation of the capacity and devotedness of others, we are unable to find a parallel.

These comparisons might be extended to the other colonies on the coast, and we pledge ourselves that for every prominent white laborer in Africa, whether distinguished for piety, devotedness to the cause of African christianization, or for mental ability, we will produce his equal—his acknowledged and proved equal from among the Liberians."

SINGULAR CASE.—There are now before this court two suits, and if the allegations of the plaintiff in both of them be proven, they will develop a case of unparalleled hardship, cruelty, and oppression. The principal of the suits is that of Sally Miller, vs. John F. Miller. The plaintiff, in her petition for a trial, represents that she is a native of Germany, of honest parentage, and legitimate birth; that in early infancy her parents emigrated to Louisiana; that they soon after died, while she (Sally) was yet of tender age, and too young either to assert or be aware of her rights; that she was illegally, and feloniously seized by John F. Miller; was converted and seized as a slave—her natural liberty was debarred her—she was made to hold a place with negroes, and those bound to servitude, and in every manner treated as a slave. For more than twenty years, she alledges, she suffered the hardships and privations imposed only on the African race, and, as she believes, to the knowledge, and by the direct instrumentality of the said John F. Miller, who did well know of her free birth, and who, in defiance of all law, and in outrage of all moral obligation, did inflict on her wrongs which no time can alleviate, and no remuneration adequately compensate. She further alledges, that she had three children by Mr. Miller's overseer, who is now dead; that two of these children, the eldest of whom is thirteen years of age, are still held as slaves; that on the 9th July, 1838, she was herself publicly sold as a slave to Louis Belmonte, of this city, who still assumes ownership in her. For these, and all other grievances, she claims from John F. Miller, for damages $10,000.

The second suit which Sally Miller has brought, is against Louis Belmonte, who bought her from Miller, and who now claims ownership in her. We have not seen the papers in this case, but learn that she alleges being—as she does in the other case—the child of German parents, who came to this country in 1819, and articled themselves for a stated period to Mr. Miller, who paid their passage money; that they, as before stated, shortly after died, and then it was that ownership in her as a slave was assumed by Mr. Miller.

Exceptions have been filed in both cases. The argument on them commenced yesterday morning, and will be continued this morning.—*N. O. Pic.*

The exceptions were overruled.

TRIBUTE TO MERIT.—The Brattleboro Phenix, noticing the fact, that on Sunday the 24th, the Rev. Mr. Pennington, the distinguished colored preacher of Hartford, Connecticut, preached in the Congregational church, and in the evening delivered an address in the Unitarian church in that village, says:

The rarity of the occurrence attracted large audiences, who, so far as we can judge from their silent attention, were highly gratified. There was nothing but his color and features, to distinguish him from his white brethren of the profession. His enunciation was distinct, accurate, and unexceptionable—his selection, and arrangement of words happy—his manner quiet, and gentlemanly, and his whole discourse marked by modesty, good sense, and a full common degree of talent.

Mr. Pennington is a fine example of what education and good society may do for the African race, and we must confess that our prejudices against that people were sensibly worn away by his unexceptionable manner and bearing.

SPLIT IN COLONIZATION.—There are two societies at the seat of government, claiming the powers and confidence heretofore exercised and enjoyed by the "*American Colonization Society.*" W. MCLAIN, is Secretary of the old organization: R. R. GURLEY, of the new, which was formed in the early part of the winter. The cause of the split, or rather the organization of a new society, to discharge the functions of a national organization, was, according to the "*Colonization Herald*," that Mr. Gurley was left out of the executive committee.

The new society lauds Mr. Gurley, its Secretary—his long and efficient labors in the colonization cause, and in the service of the American Society; to which the Herald replies:

"Long adhesion does not always impart strength. Mosses and funge might boast themselves of being part of the sturdy oak, on which they grow and thrive, but what vigor do they impart to the king of the forest in return?"—*Liberty Press.*

PRETTY GOOD.—Frederic Douglass, the famous fugitive from slavery, who is said by the eastern papers generally to be a powerful speaker, lately addressed the good people of Lloydsville in this State. He soon obtained the command of their feelings, and set them to laughing or weeping at will. To illustrate the effect of his eloquence, a friend tells us a good story. Douglass happened to say that he was only *half* black—whereupon, an Irishman who had been much excited by his appeals, exclaimed, "*Pathrick! if that man is only half a nagur, what would a whowl one be?*"—*Tribune.*

MISSOURI.—The following is an abstract of a law passed by the legislature of Missouri. To say nothing of its inhumanity, and the great inconvenience to which it must subject captains and owners of steamboats, it is, like kindred laws, in the slave States, a gross violation of the constitutional rights of the colored citizens of New-York, Massachusetts, and other free States. But slaveholders are the only class of men in this country, exempt from the duty of regarding the Constitution!

"The law requires that the harbor-master shall report to the recorder, or some justice of the peace, the arrival of free negroes on board of boats, and upon information being given to any justice, or to the recorder, of the arrival of boats with free negroes on board, such officer is required to issue his warrant and arrest them, and bring them before him, and to commit such free negroes or mulattoes to the county jail, there to be confined until the boat shall leave; and to require the master of such steamboat to give bonds, with security, in a sum not exceeding $500, to pay all charges in the arrest and detention of the free negroes brought by such boat into the State, and to carry them away out of the State; and in the failure or refusal of any master of a boat to give such security for three days after his arrival, "the master and owners of such steamboat shall jointly and severally be liable to a penalty of $1000 for each and every such free negro, mulatto, or person of color."

Congress.

SENATE, MONDAY, April 15.

A letter was communicated by the President from *W. R. King*, informing the Senate that he had resigned his seat therein.

[Mr. K. has been appointed minister to France.]

The President also presented resolutions from the legislature of *Florida*, in favor of dividing that *territory into two parts.*

Mr. *Breese* presented a petition from citizens of Illinois, asking the abolition of slavery. Motion to receive laid on the table.

Mr. *Buchanan* presented a memorial from citizens of Beaver county, Pennsylvania, against the annexation of *Texas.*

Mr. *Phelps:* From citizens of Springfield, Vermont, against any alteration in the present tariff, against the annexation of *Texas* and preferring the settlement of the Oregon question by treaty rather than by an appeal to arms.

Mr. *Upham:* Five memorials from Vermont, remonstrating against the annexation of *Texas.*

Also, one from Rockingham, in Vermont asking that no alteration may be made in the tariff, and against the annexation of Texas, and that the Oregon question may be settled by negotiation instead of war.

Mr. *Woodbury:* From citizens of Sullivan county, New Hampshire, asking that *Texas* may not be annexed.

Twenty-two remonstrances against any alteration of the tariff, were presented.

Mr. *Choate* concluded a very able and eloquent speech on the tariff. After stating and illustrating the great change, from war to peace, which took place in Europe, in the year 1815, and the immediate and instinctive turning of nations thereupon to the arts of peace, to the cherishing of industrial pursuits, and the improvement of their internal condition; dwelling particularly upon the exertions made by Great Britain to bring back her old customers, which were the world, to the use of her manufactures; and after showing how our own manufactures had grown up under the energetic stimulus of the restrictive policy, and the war; and that the protective duties of 1789 were by these political and industrial revolutions, rendered impotant for their object, he proceeded to bestow merited eulogy upon the statesmen of 1816, who had comprehended better than Massachusetts the importance of this change, and had found the tariff of that year, introducing for the first time, the *minimum* principle so sufficient for protection, and now so much denounced. Among those statesmen, Mr. *Calhoun* was particularly and very honorably mentioned. In respect to the tariff of 1824, which was made because that of 1816 was found inadequate for protection, it had been passed by the able exertions of a distinguished representative of Pennsylvania, now on the bench of the Supreme Court, [Judge Baldwin,] and of a distinguished gentleman from Kentucky, [Mr. Clay]. Massachusetts still clung with a strong predilection to commercial, and voted against that tariff, only one member from that State voting in favor of it. Massachusetts had not yet made a tariff, others had made them, and she had submitted to them reluctantly, but peaceably, and had changed under their coercion, the direction of her labor and capital. Even on the tariff of 1828, her delegation was equally divided. Mr. *Mc. Duffie* here rose and said it was not so. He had looked at the journal, and found the vote of Massachusetts stood *five* to *seven.* Mr. *Choate* continued; the gentleman interrupts me rudely, but he does not mean it. I included, said he, the votes in *both* branches. Mr. Choate asked what her sister States would gain if they could accomplish their object, break down the system, and drive Massachusetts to ice and granite. She now takes $42,000,000 of the produce of the other States, more than half of our exportations to all the world besides? Mr. Choate alluded to intimations, which had been made, that for *errors of opinion*, Massachusetts was to be punished by *deleterious legislation.* On this subject, he spoke with evident feelings of indignation, but not fears, concluding each sentence with this monition, "*Be just to Massachusetts, and she will be a blessing to you.*"

In the course of his remarks upon this topic, Mr. C. said that Massachusetts would probably continue to hold and express such opinions as she liked, to oppose or support such measures or such administrations as she thought proper, whatever legislative coercion or castigation might be applied to her here. She would not be dragooned into opinions, nor out of them.

He deprecated the agitation of this subject on the eve of a great election. He would have this *tabooed* ground for eight months, preceding every election. A subject involving the pursuits and the sustentation of two millions of the people of this country, must not be brought within the vortex of party interests and passions at every election. Why had Massachusetts, which had never made a tariff, been the object of continual assault, and Pennsylvania, which had made so many, been scarcely mentioned? Could it be disguised that this distinction arose from the fact that the one had a large electoral vote which was doubtful, and the other a small one which was not?

[This is a most meagre sketch, even of the leading points of Mr. Choate's speech. I regret that the limits to which I am confined, enable me to give but little idea of the argumentative force, the pith and raciness of the remarks, which he poured out in an uninterrupted stream, which fixed and delighted every listener for two hours.]

TUESDAY, April 16.

Mr. *Bates* presented a remonstrance from citizens of Massachusetts, against the annexation of *Texas.*

Mr. *Phelps*, from 215 citizens of Pittsford, and another from Troy, Vermont, against the annexation of *Texas.*

Mr. *Tappan:* Two remonstrances, and the proceedings of a meeting in Ohio against the annexation of *Texas.*

Seven memorials against any alteration of the tariff. The *post-office* bill was discussed, and the motion by Mr. *Wright* to abolish the franking privilege was negatived; yeas 5, nays 35.

WEDNESDAY, April 17.

Mr. *Buchanan* presented a memorial from the Pennsylvania Society, for the abolishment of slavery. Mr. B. said he really did not know whether he ought to present it in open or executive session. The memorial objected to the annexation, on many grounds, but the principle reason set forth, was that it would be the means of extending slavery in the Union. This association was a very old one; it originated under the auspices of Franklin. Mr. B. moved that it be printed and referred, which was agreed to.

The pension bill was passed in concurrence with the amendments of the House, heretofore detailed.

The *post-office* bill was further discussed. The Senate refused to strike out the section providing members with franks, to the amount of fifty cents a day. They also refused to amend so as to make *five* cents the rate for all distances. Yeas 6, nays 34.

Mr. *Evans* was as sensible as any one that the public expected a reduction of the rates of letter postage. He was himself in favor of it. But he apprehended that, if this bill was not essentially altered, it would fail in one House or the other. He had prepared an amendment that he proposed to submit at a proper time. He hoped it would be ordered to be printed, and that the Senate would consider it. He proposed that the rate of postage be but three cents for any distance not exceeding thirty miles. He proposed that five cents be the rate for 180 miles, which would cover the distances which the expresses travel; and ten cents for distances not exceeding 300 miles, and fifteen cents for a greater distance. He would provide that anything not exceeding a quarter of an ounce weight, should be a letter, and that a letter written on course or heavy paper should pay no more. He did not think there was just ground for the complaints made here by the postmaster general, of the abuse of the franking privilege. He [the postmaster general,] had much of it himself, and without law too. The postmaster general allowed, without law, the postmasters to frank letters to and from newspaper editors. A postmaster had written to him that, out of two hundred and thirty letters franked by him, only twenty was on his own business. The remittances of money to editors, were made free of postage by a post-office regulation. Much of the franking which was complained of, grew out of this regulation.

THURSDAY, April 18.

Mr. *Tappan* presented remonstrances from Medina and Ashtabula, Ohio, against the annexation of *Texas.*

Two remonstrances, one from Pennsylvania and the other from Virginia, against any alteration of the tariff, were presented. Mr. *Crittenden* repeated the assurance, that from his judgment of the sense of the Senate, the tariff will not be altered at this session.

Mr. *Woodbury* offered a resolution of inquiry into the expediency of establishing *common schools* in the *District of Columbia*; which was adopted.

A bill to purchase 1,500 copies of a work proposed to be published on Oregon, *California*, and other parts of the northwest coast, was passed after much opposition; yeas 27, nays 13.

[This work is understood to embrace many translations from the *Spanish*, and the compiler is the same clerk who translated *ladinos*, "*sound negroes*," in the Amistad papers. I should think that such a translator was an unsafe one in a matter of peace or war.]

On the *post-office* bill, Mr. *Evans's* amendment having been modified by him, so as to fix these *rates* and *weights*, viz:

30 miles and under,	3 cts.
100 " "	5 "
400 " "	10 "
Over 400 miles,	15 "
Single letter,	1-4 oz.
Double, "	1-2 "
(Not to be more than two pieces.)	
Treble, "	3-4 "
Quadruple, "	1 "

Was adopted; yeas 24, nays 17.

On motion of Mr *Evans*, the privilege of members to receive letters by mail, was extended to thirty days before and after the sessions of Congress. The bill and amendments were ordered to be printed.

FRIDAY, April 19.

Mr. *Pearce* presented a memorial from citizens of Loudoun county, Virginia, remonstrating against the annexation of *Texas.* The memorialists say—

1st. That the admission of a foreign State into this confederacy was not contemplated by the framers of the Constitution, and no power was conferred on the federal government to enter into such a contract.

2d. That even if the power had been conferred by the Constitution, the secret measures pursued by the executive to effect this object do not meet their approbation.

3d. That sufficient time to ascertain the sentiments of the people on this question has not been allowed, and we believe the measure will be utterly repugnant to the feelings, and contrary to the judgment of a large portion of our fellow-citizens.

4th. Mexico having a treaty of peace and amity with the United States, it would be unjust and dishonorable in us to take advantage of her domestic dissensions, and seize upon a territory to which she still asserts her claim.

5th. They believe the proposed annexation will forward dissension, and disunion among the States of this confederacy, and will involve us in a war, in which we shall be the aggressors, without a principle to contend for, that can claim the respect of mankind, or the approbation of our consciences.

6th. By extending our jurisdiction over a large extent thinly inhabited, the expense will be increased, and the strength diminished.

Mr. *Buchanan:* From citizens of Pennsylvania, asking the Senate to ratify no treaty for the annexation of *Texas.*

Mr. *Sturgeon:* From citizens of Adams county, Pennsylvania, remonstrating against the annexation of *Texas.*

Mr. *Tappan:* Proceedings of a meeting of Lake county, Ohio, remonstrating against the annexation of *Texas.*

Mr. *Walker:* From citizens of Carroll county, Virginia, asking that the treaty with *Texas* may be ratified by the Senate.

WASHINGTON'S CAMP CHEST.

This relic was presented in the Senate by Mr. *Pearce*, of Maryland, and the resolutions of acceptance passed in concurrence with the House.

[See House Report.]

Some debate arose upon the question, whether the tariff or the *post-office* bill should be taken up; and then there arose another, which was pretty sharply commented upon by some tariff members, whether or no, more time should be taken up, in a debate already so protracted, which looked now to no practical result! At length the report on *McDuffie's* tariff bill was taken up, and discussed by Mr. *Wright*, of New-York, to whom Mr. *Bagby* gave way.

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, SATURDAY, April 13.

A number of remonstrances against touching the tariff, were presented.

The army appropriation bill was discussed in committee of the whole on the state of the Union. The question was on increasing the item for the pay of the army, from $1,058,521 67, to $1,273,279, so as to make the bill conform to the army retrenchment bill, which had been passed by the House. It was contended that the appropriations ought to be made according to law, and not according to a bill, which the Senate might reject. On the other hand, it was said that the House ought to act consistently, and conform this bill to what they had already determined, without any reference to what might be done elsewhere. Something having been said about the respective merits of the parties, in effecting the army retrenchments of the last Congress, the House went off into a party *scaramouch.* At 2 o'clock, they adjourned to see Mr. *Colt's* blow-up.

MONDAY, April 15.

Fifteen remonstrances against any alteration of the tariff, were presented.

The House refused to go into committee to take up the tariff; *yeas*, 84, *nays* 95.

The army appropriation bill was taken up, and Mr. *McKay's* amendment was agreed to, after a continuation of the party debate by Messrs. *Morse*, and *Hamlin*, of Maine.

On motion of Mr. *McKay*, the bill was amended, by striking out the following items:

"For commutation of officers' subsistence, $284,597 77.

"For commutation of forage for officers' horses, $70,000: *Provided*, That forage shall be allowed only for horses actually mustered.

"For payments, in lieu of clothing, for discharged soldiers, and officers' servants, $34,877 57."

On motion of Mr. *McKay*, the bill was further amended by inserting an appropriation of $110,000 for the purchase of horses, equipment, forage, and other expenses attending the remounting the second regiment of dragoons.

An amendment offered by Mr. *Baker*, (to the appropriation for the Springfield armory,) providing that no part of the appropriation should be applied to rebuilding the quarters of the commanding officer, was *agreed to.*

These amendments were all concurred by the House, and the bill passed.

TUESDAY, April 16.

Mr. *Giddings* presented the proceedings of a public meeting of the people of Geauga county, Ohio; of the people of Lake county; of the people of Erie county; all remonstrating against the annexation of Texas.

Also, the remonstrance of Wm. Utter, and 28 citizens of Otsego county, New-York; of J. R. Conklin, and 16 others, of Albany; all against the annexation of Texas.

Also, the petition of Elijah Park, and 108 citizens of Lorain county, Ohio, praying for an appropriation for a harbor at Black river.

Also, the proceedings of a public meeting of the people of Stark county, Ohio, against the annexation of Texas.

Also, the petition of Amos Corwin, and 108 citizens of Vermont, to admit no new State into the Union, with a constitution sustaining slavery.

Also, of Lewis Bates, and 62 citizens of Rochester, New-York, praying an amendment to the Constitution, so as to exclude slaves from the federal ratio of representation.

Also, of 62 citizens of Gibson county, Illinois, praying such amendment of the federal Constitution, as to acknowledge the obligation of God's law, and the authority of Jesus Christ.

Nine remonstrances against any alteration of the tariff, were presented.

WEDNESDAY, April 17.

The western-rivers and harbors-improvement bill, was taken up. Mr. *Douglass*, of Illinois, made an argument in favor of the constitutionality of the bill. Mr. *Rhett*, of South Carolina, pronounced the argument *ultra federal*, and tending to a consolidated despotism.

Mr. *Holmes*, of South Carolina, maintained that the Mississippi, and Ohio, were constitutional rivers, but none of the rest; and he found them to be constitutional, by the ordinance of 1787, which said that they should be national highways. He charged upon Mr. D. that he had brought no other argument, except that General Jackson had said so-and-so.

Mr. *Douglass* then named Mr. Calhoun, as further authority.

Mr. *Holmes* asked why, instead of shielding himself behind this Telamonian Ajax of Gen. Jackson's authority, the gentleman had not come out and undertaken to sustain his position by argument? Mr. H. was no man's man; he cared not for John C. Calhoun, or Andrew Jackson, when the Constitution was concerned. But Mr. H. contended that a fair reading of General Jackson's vetoes of the Maysville road, and Wabash-river bills, would show that he had taken the same ground as Mr. H. now took. But, whatever the gentleman might make of the authority of Gen. Jackson, Mr. H. said that he (Gen. Jackson,) had not been tenacious of a particular policy; for, without impugning the character of that great man, (which would be impugning that of all great men,) Mr. H. must say, that he had never seen the policy of any man vary so often as his, when occasion required. He had followed in the footsteps of his immediate predecessor, and he had never varied, until he found another man running the career of glorious emulation with him; then, with the skill of a great practitioner, he had tacked about, and waged uncompromising war against the whole system of internal improvements.

Mr. H. put the question to the House, whether the democrats were not now going to consummate the same system which Gen. Jackson had thought he had destroyed, or rather, which he had stunned; for he was afraid, from the auguries, that a conjunction of the tariff party, and the internal improvement party, was about to infuse new life and vigor into this suspendedly animated body. Now, only naming the name of General Jackson, was not sufficient to stop the ear of this great Juggernaut—this system of unjust taxation by tariffs, and the other great system of internal improvements, prosecuted *pari passu* with it. Gentlemen talked about a distinctive line between the federalists, or whigs, and the democrats!

Mr. Holmes spoke of the light, which he did once think, was rising in the west, to the friends of the Constitution; but now, where was the hope? The West come and say, all rivers are improvable by the general government. After motions to amend, the bill was lost; *yeas* 85, *nays* 92.

Mr. Duncan moved a reconsideration.

THURSDAY, April 18.

Mr. *Ramsay*, of Pennsylvania, presented three petitions, praying that the four companies of horse artillery which drove him to the rash act of self-murder. Poor fellow!

We understand he a few days since had property left him by a relative, to the amount of $5000.

He last week made an attempt to escape, which probably would have been successful if he had not been betrayed by his cell mate.—*Albany Citizen.*

Distressing Accident.—A terrible accident occurred in Warren, Pa. on Friday last, by which Miss Amanda M. Burbank, daughter of Mr. Jacob D. Burbank, aged about 13, lost her life, and an elder sister was badly wounded. A lad about eleven years old, was handling a loaded gun, which had been left in the yard, and probably touched the trigger, when it exploded. The charge passed through the house into a room where the family were at dinner, and was mostly lodged in the neck of Amanda, who died instantly. Mary Burbank was shot in the side, but it is thought she will recover. The gun was loaded with duck shot, and the charge passed through the thickness of a clapboard and an inch board.—*Owego Advocate.*

Another.—A Miss Mary F. Lawrence, daughter of Mr. William Lawrence, of Tuscaloosa, Ala. was killed a few days since by the discharge of a pistol, which was thought to be unloaded, in the hands of Mrs. Dr. Sidney Smith, in Marengo county. The pistol had been snapped several times previously by Dr. Smith, who was amusing some children by exploding caps upon the tube. The charge had been in the fatal instrument for a long time, and this should be another warning against carelessly putting away loaded firearms about a house.

Rare Courtesy.—We are glad to see the steps towards even civility among religious disputants. The Unitarian Society in Fitchburg, (Rev. Mr. Lincoln's,) by an unanimous vote offered the use of their elegant church to the Calvanistic Society, (Rev. Mr. Bullard's,) during the rebuilding of the church of the latter. They altered the hours of meeting so as to permit each society to have two services on the Sabbath.—*Barre (Mass.) Gazette.*

Insanity Produced by Millerism.—Dr. Woodward states in the last annual report of the Worcester Asylum, that the number of cases of insanity from religious causes has increased the last year in most of the institutions in this country. In this hospital, 28 cases of 220 are supposed to have arisen from this cause, 15 of which were attributed to the Miller excitement, and much larger proportions are ascribed to the same causes in some of New-England institutions.

A Swinish People.—During five months of the present season, the people of Cincinnati have exported from that city to New Orleans 228,000,982 barrels of pork and bacon. Of the shipments from New Orleans this season, 162,153 barrels were sent to New-York; 78,792 to Boston; 10,785 to Philadelphia; 10,275 to Baltimore; 1,548 to Charleston; and 3,914 to other United States ports; 292 barrels to Cuba; and 12,861 to other foreign ports.

Judge Jay.—We understand that letters from this gentleman speak of the entire restoration of his health. He had visited, with those of his family who had accompanied him from home, Alexandria and Cairo, and was on his way to Rome and Naples. He will probably pass a few weeks in England, where he is expected to represent the American Bible Society, at the anniversary of the British and Foreign institution, and return home in the early part of the Summer.—*Northern Star.*

Drought.—The Bahamas, Jamaica, and Cuba, have been suffering very severely for want of rain for several months past.

A Pardon.—The efforts made in behalf of the young girl, McDonnel, of whose case we published a statement a few days ago, have been successful, and she has been pardoned by the governor. On her release from the city prison she was received into the service of a benevolent lady of this city.—*Jour. of Com.*

Small-Pox.—The board of health have received notice of some sixteen cases of small-pox in this city, at the present time. It appears in a mild form, and only one death has yet occured—that of a negro by exposure.—*Wheeling Times, April 19.*

Accident at New Hartford Conn.—On Sunday, the 21st instant, two young men and several ladies, went on the Farmington river for a short sail, and by some means were upset. Caroline Harris, a young lady 19 years of age, was drowned, and the lives of the others in imminent danger. She was in the water fifteen or twenty minutes, and medical skill was applied in a few minutes after she was taken out, but all in vain. It is to be hoped that this fatal event will have the effect to admonish those who are in the habit of violating the Lord's Day.—*Hartford Courant.*

TREASURER'S RECEIPTS

For the week ending 4th mo. (April) 20th, 1844.

Received for the Standard—The following persons have each paid $2: Nathan Grove, Richmond, Ia.; M. Burghardt, Little Falls, N. Y.; H. W. Hale, Addison, Vt.; Abby Foster, S. Scituate, Mass.; Samuel R. Thompson, Marion, Ia.—Total, $10.

James Freeman, Hanover, Michigan, $5; Henry Ware, Framingham, Mass. $1.—Total, $6.

ISAAC T. HOPPER, *Treasurer.*

NOTICES.

TENTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

This meeting will commence its sessions at 4 o'clock P. M. on Tuesday the 7th day of May, at Concert Hall No. 406 Broadway.

THE ANNIVERSARY MEETING.

Will be held at the Apollo Hall, No. 410 Broadway, on the same day—services to commence at 10 o'clock, A. M.

The members of the society, and the friends of the oppressed generally, are invited to attend, and to participate in the deliberations of the occasion. Many questions of great moment to the welfare of the country, and to the cause of freedom, will come up for discussion and disposal. It is desirable to secure a large representation from all parts of the country, and to avail ourselves of every means to forward the object of the society.

A record book for the names of persons who attend, will be open at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 143 Nassau street—where, also, cards of reference to boarding-houses can be obtained.

On behalf of the Society,

WM. P. POWELL, } *Com. of Ar-*
J. S. GIBBONS, } *rangement.*

Anti-Slavery and friendly papers will please copy.

THE HUNDRED CONVENTIONS IN MASSACHUSETTS.

☞ All the conventions which last two days, will begin at 1 o'clock, P. M. of the day first named. Where only one day is named, they will commence at 10 A. M.

After which, the same eloquent advocates of the slave's cause will make a tour through Bristol, and then through Essex county.

Northern Series.

Pittsfield—Monday and Tuesday, 29th and 30th.
Lenox—Wednesday and Thursday, May 1st and 2d.
Stockbridge—Friday and Saturday, 3d and 4th.

Messrs. E. D. Hudson, S. H. Gay, and Frederic Douglass, will be present.

☞ The friends of the cause, in the above named towns and their immediate vicinity, are urgently requested to take every means of giving the widest possible notice of these meetings. Let *each* one consider this *his own personal* duty. See to it, also, that convenient places for assembling are obtained, so as to secure large audiences. Let all that can, be present, especially those who are willing to take a part in the discussions; and thus, while they relieve the agents, give added interest to the debate. We mean to awaken the old, and create a new anti-slavery zeal throughout the commonwealth. The most important questions are to be discussed by the ablest and most devoted of the friends of the slave. We commend them to the hospitality of the friends everywhere, and hope that especially they will be aided in getting from place to place, to lessen the labor and expense of the whole undertaking. Any town which does not receive large printed placards to notify the meetings of the convention during its session, can be supplied by applying at 25 Cornhill.

WENDELL PHILLIPS,
Gen. Agent Mass. A. S. Society.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF EASTERN PENNSYLVANIA.

Dear friends and fellow laborers.—With hopeful hearts, we have commenced our preparations for our next annual fair, resolved that it shall be greatly superior to that of the last year. For the accomplishment of this purpose, we are dependent upon you. Will you not give us ample proof that we have not relied upon you in vain? You cannot need that we should offer you incentives to increased diligence and zeal in our common cause. The image of the suffering slave is vividly before your mental vision; and were you in any danger of forgetting the sad living picture, it would be frequently revived by some new odious manifestation of the slave power, or by the presence of the fugitive, crossing, in the haste of terror, your brighter path.

Nor need we present to you arguments in favor of this method of advancing our cause. You are aware that our fairs have been a source of great pecuniary profit, as the reports of the treasurer of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society show. The principal part of the profit derived from them have passed into the treasury of the Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society, of which you are members. In asking your assistance, then, we are but asking you to aid our common cause, through the agencies which you have constituted. You have nobly responded to our calls, in other years. Have you not commenced our second decade with renewed ardor and increased self-sacrifice? Will you not evince it by immediately beginning, with us, preparations for the fair of 1844? Labor, each according to your ability or inclination, but let each do something. All marketable commodities, useful or ornamental, will be gratefully received. If our contributors will send, with their manufactures, a statement of the cost of the materials of each, the committee estimating the labor expended on them, will be careful to prevent any article from being sold at a price below its value. A very large part of the articles sold, yield a *fair profit.* If any of our friends in the country, will come and superintend the sale of their articles, they will be most welcome, and their aid truly valuable.

We are sorry to say that our poultry stall was not as well furnished as usual last year. Will not abolitionists who are preparing produce for their own tables or the market, remember, and give us a practical proof that they remember the physically and spiritually starved slave? Give to him, as God hath given to you, freely, abundantly.

We advise all who intend to work in this department, (and what abolitionist in Eastern Pennsylvania does not) so begin at once to do something, and enlist the sympathies and efforts of as many others as possible.

We are sure, dear friends, that none of us will regret having done too much, but we may regret having done too little for the emancipation of two and a half millions of slaves.

On behalf of the Philadelphia Female Anti-Slavery Society.

Jane M. Hopper,	*Maria M. Davis,*
Mary Grew,	*Emma Parker,*
Sarah McKim,	*Matilda Casey,*
Phebe Earle,	*Taressa Hallowell,*
Hulda Justice,	*Elizabeth J. Neall,*
Susan Dorsey,	*Rebecca Stackhouse,*
Gertude H. Burleigh,	*Sarah Pugh,*
Harriet Snyder,	*Mary Shaw,*
Margaret Griscom,	*Sarah Dorsey*
Sarah M. Douglass,	*Margaret Jones,*
Harriet D. Purvis,	*Margaretta Forten,*
Hetty Burr,	*Esther Reckless,*
Mary T. Stickney,	*Jannette Jackson,*
Martha T. Carman,	*Elizabeth Carman,*
Mary Earle,	*Lydia Gillingham,*
Sidney Ann Lewis,	*Hannah Lee Stickney,*
Sarah Lewis,	*Susan Grew,*
Susan Shaw.	

PHILADELPHIA, April 23d, 1844.

KENNET ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

A meeting of the Kennett Anti-Slavery Society will be held at the Kennett Meeting House on 7th day, 4th of 5th month, at 10 o'clock, P. M.

J. B. PHILLIPS, *Sec'y.*

4th mo. 22, 1844.

REMOVAL.

The Office of the Rhode Island State Anti-Slavery Society has been removed from 14 1-2 Westminster street, to No. 2 Broad street, corner of Dorrance, where friends of freedom and the public generally are invited to call.

A. PAINE, Office Agent.

Providence, March 18th, 1844.

NEW-YORK WHOLESALE PRICES CURRENT.

CORRECTED WEEKLY FOR THE STANDARD.

IRON.			
Pig, Eng. & Sc. ton	30.00 a	32.50	
do. American	20.00 a	25.00	
Bar do. rolled	75.00 a	77.50	
do. Russia P,S,L,		a 105.00	
do. do. new do.	75.00 a		
do. Swedes	a	75.00	
do. Eng. com.	a	57.50	
do. do. refined	75. a	75.50	
Sheet E. & Am. lb.	5½ a	6¢	
Hoop do. do. cwt.	4.00 a	5.00	
LEAD.			
Pig, 100 lbs.	3.30 a	.	
Bar, lb.	4 a	4½	
Sheet	4½ a	.	
LEATHER.			
Oak lb. (sole,)	19 a	24	
Hemlock, light	16½ a	17	
do. middle	16 a	16½	
do. heavy	12½ a	14½	
do. damaged	12½ a	13½	
LUMBER.			
Boards, N.R. } M. ft. }	30.00 a	35.00	
do. east pine	. a	10.00	
do. Albany, piece	7 a	.17	
Plank Ga. pine, M. ft.	20.00a	24.00	
Scantling pine	14.00 a	15.00	
do. oak	30.00 a	35.00	
Timber oak, cu. ft.	.25 a	.37	
do. Ga. yel. pine	.35 a	.40	
Shingles, cy. M.	11.00 a	14.00	
Staves w. o. pipe M.	50.00 a	53.00	
do. do. hhd.	34.00 a	35.00	
do. do. bbl.	28.00 a	30.00	
do. r oak hhd.	26.00 a	.	
Heading, w. o.	40.00 a	45.00	
Hoops	25.00 a	30.00	
MOLASSES.			
New-Orleans, gall.	29 a	30	
Porto Rico	27 a	30	
St. Croix	a		
Trinidad, Cuba	25 a	27	
Martinique & Guadaloupe	22a		
Havana & Matanzas	23 a	24	
Neuvitas	28 a	32	
NAILS.			
Cut, 4d a 40d	4 a	4½	
(3d 1 cent and 2d 2 cents more.)			
Wrought, 6d a 20d	10 a	12½	
Horseshoe, No. 7 a 9	18 a	20	
NAVAL STORES.			
Tar, bbl.	1.56½ a	1.62½	
Pitch	1.12½ a	1.25	
Rosin	.60½ a	.80	
Turp. Wilton soft	2.43 a	2.50	
do. N. C. soft	2.37½ a	2.75	
Spirits turp'tine gal.	33½ a	35	
**OILS.

Poetry.

For the National Anti-Slavery Standard.

TO THE FIRST BIRD OF SPRING.

Sweet messenger of Spring! and hast thou come
With joyful tidings from thy southern home?
Hast thou, indeed, spread forth thy slender wing,
And sought these climes on the first breeze of spring?

Methinks that thou hast fled from fragrant bowers,
To sing to us of coming buds and flowers;
Full well we know, ere thou hast sung them o'er,
That spring is here with richest joys in store.

How couldst thou leave so soon those sunny skies,
Where the rich earth in "gay confusion lies,"
To come where winter lately swayed with power,
And blasted with its breath each plant and flower?

But, now thou must not murmur if the storm
Sometimes proves cruel to thy slender form;
Nor yet complain if oft thy tiny feet,
At morn and eve, sting with the frost and sleet.

For thou must know that if thou comest before
Jack Frost has emptied all his precious store
Of snow and ice upon our soil, that he
With such as these will surely welcome thee.

Therefore if thou canst not endure all these,
But wouldst prefer warm sunshine and soft breeze,
Please now a lesson learn, and then next time
Be not in haste to seek our northern clime.

But if thou carest not for storm and hail,
For frost or sleet, nor yet for snowy gale,
But songs can sing, and merry feel the while
Thy toes are aching—thus the hours beguile,—

Then welcome thou, thrice welcome to our clime;
The sooner then the better; that the time
Of thy short stay with us may longer be,
For earth and sky to such as thou are free.

SPRING VALLEY, Ohio. M. B.

THE ARSENAL AT SPRINGFIELD.

BY HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.

Certainly if all who know, that to be men stands not in the shape of bodies, but in the power of reason, would listen awhile unto Christ's wholesome and peaceable decrees, and not, puffed up with arrogance and conceit, rather believe their owne opinions than his admonitions: the whole world long ago (turning the use of iron into milder workes) should have lived in most quiet tranquillity, and have met together in a firme and indissolable league of most safe concord.—ARNOBIOUS.

This is the Arsenal. From floor to ceiling
Like a huge organ, rise the burnished arms;
But from their silent pipes no anthem pealing
Startles the villages with strange alarms.

Ah! what a sound will rise, how mild and dreary,
When the Death-Angel touches those swift keys!
What loud lament and dismal Miserére
Will mingle with their awful symphonies!

I hear even now the infinite fierce chorus,
The cries of agony, the endless groan—
Which, through the ages that have gone before us,
In long reverberations reach our own.

On helm and harness rings the Saxon hammer,
Through Cimbric forest roars the Norseman's song,
And loud amid the universal clamor,
O'er distant deserts sounds the Tartar gong.

I hear the Florentine, who from his palace
Wheels out his battle-bell with dreadful din,
And Aztec priests upon their teocallis
Beat the wild war-drums made of serpent's skin.

The tumult of each sacked and burning village;
The shout, that every prayer for mercy drowns;
The soldiers' revels in the midst of pillage,
The wail of famine in beleaguered towns!

The bursting shell, the gateway wrenched asunder,
The rattling musketry, the clashing blade;
And ever and anon, in tones of thunder,
The diapason of the cannonade.

Is it, oh man, with such discordant noises,
With such accursed instruments as these,
Thou drownest nature's sweet and kindly voices,
And jarrest the celestial harmonies?

Were half the power that fills the world with terror,
Were half the wealth, bestowed on camps and courts,
Given to redeem the human mind from error,
There were no need of arsenals and forts.

The warrior's name would be a name abhorred!
And every nation that should lift again
Its hand against its brother, on its forehead
Would wear for evermore the curse of Cain!

Down the dark future, through long generations,
The echoing sounds grow fainter, and then cease;
And like a bell, with solemn, sweet vibrations,
I hear once more the voice of Christ say "Peace!"

Peace! and no longer from its brazen portals
The blast of War's great organ shakes the skies!
But beautiful as songs of the immortals,
The holy melodies of Love arise.

From a late English Paper.

THE BLIND BRIDE.

The following poem derives its origin from a romance of real life, the scene of which is in one of our midland counties. A young lady of great beauty and accomplishments was suddenly deprived, by inflammation, of the sense of sight. Nevertheless, instead of sinking, under so heavy a dispensation, into listlessness and melancholy, with an admirable spirit she retained her cheerfulness, and continued all her former pursuits, as far as the privation would allow. She continued to play, sing, dance, walk, and even ride out on horseback; preserving a bright mind amidst her darkness, and a happy countenance. Soon afterwards a gentleman returned from abroad, who had been the companion of her childhood; and her lover in his boyhood. Touched with the noble spirit with which she bore her calamity, and still retaining his old attachment to her, he offered his heart and hand for her acceptance—in spite of the urgent counsel of his friends, and even the remonstrances of the lady herself. But he remained firm to his purpose; and the verses were composed, as if addressed by him to his blind bride.

Thou seest me not, my own dear bride;
Yet bright thy smile, my Esperance,
As when we sported side by side,
Or mingled in our playmates' dance—
Thy step, as then, is light and free,
Thy stirrup firm and fearless still:
Such power abides in constancy
Of faith and hope, and steadfast will.

I loved thee then, my heart's first joy,
I love thee now, and tenfold more
Than when the saddened strippling boy
Left thee and thine, and England's shore.
One lingering gaze behind I cast!
Thy young eye watched me from the hill:
O had I deemed that look thy last!
But here thou art, and dearer still.

Thy mind's a kingdom all my own;
And like the lark, in morning air,
Thy playful voice whose minstrel tone
Can charm away my every care.
The peace which pure high thoughts impart,
The scenes, the sound of joeund earth,
Are thine—and more than all, a heart
That beats for thee and feels thy worth.

What though alike unmarked by thee
The moonbeam and the noontide ray,
'Tis mind, and heart, and converse free,
Turn gloom to joy and night to day.
Then cheer thee, love: where'er we go,
My step, my thought, shall wait on thine:
Thy spirit, tried in weal and wo,
My Esperance, shall strengthen mine.

Miscellany.

From the Correspondence of the New-York Tribune.

WONDERFUL FACTS.

The facts that I am about to relate are so extraordinary that few persons, perhaps, will credit them; but as I can swear to them as an eye-witness, I do not hesitate to proclaim their truth, and if you judge them worthy of public attention, I authorize you, in publishing them, to give my name if necessary.

I have always been more than sceptical on what is called *Mesmerism*, or *Animal Magnetism*. I had, heretofore, suspected deception when the parties interested were unknown to me, or illusion and credulity, if the veracity of the persons could not be questioned. But, in spite of myself, I must confess, that conviction has been forced upon me after what took place on Thursday last, the 4th instant, at Dr. T. Leger's rooms.

A week previous, I was with several friends, present at a lecture that that gentleman delivered on the science that he calls *Psychodunamy*. I was indeed, not a little puzzled to witness experiments which prove the sight without the use of the eyes, and particularly to hear a somnambule giving a correct description of the diseases of persons who were present, and could neither be expected to have called, or their maladies known in advance. Still these singular phenomena of clairvoyance, and intuition have been recorded already in many books, written on the matter, whilst the experiments of Thursday last, exceeded anything I ever heard, and I do not believe that similar facts have been related before.

The doctor had announced that he would try to impart, by the sole power of his will, to a person in the Psychodunamic sleep, any thought, sentiment, or passion, that the audience would write on a piece of paper, and elicit the mimical, spoken, and musical expression of it, although preserving himself the most profound silence, and without touching or communicating in any physical way, with the somnambule.

About forty highly respectable persons of this city met at the appointed time, in the rooms of the doctor, No. 74 Broadway, to witness the experiments that I will now succinctly relate without farther comment.

As soon as the Psychodunamic sleep was produced, the audience agreed to write on a slip of paper: "Love of children," and to give it to the doctor. He appeared to compose himself for a short while; then extended his hands toward his patient keeping them at more than a foot distance, in a commanding manner, without uttering any word or sound. Several minutes elapsed without any perceivable effect; when slowly, and by degrees the somnambule begun to raise her arms; she crossed them over her breast, as if pressing fondly to her bosom a fancied babe and imitating all the motions of a nurse who caresses her infant. The features of the doctor assumed a sterner aspect, and a short while after she opened her mouth and said, in a low but perfectly audible voice: Don't speak! he wants to sleep! and she rocked gently her imagined child, singing in an under tone, bayou babe, babe, baye, &c.

You can easily suppose the general astonishment. But it was nothing in comparison to what happened immediately after. Scarcely had the doctor, by a few motions of his hands, at a distance, calmed his subject, than "Love of God," "Veneration," had been written on another piece of paper, and handed to the doctor. This time his silent exertions remained longer without effect. Nevertheless, a kind of electric commotion appeared to shake the patient; she joined her hands, bent down her head, and seemed lost in a profound and pious meditation. A few minutes after, she turned her head upward, and her lips moved as if uttering a fervent prayer; then again, as if yielding to a superior force, she opened her mouth, and pronounced in a very emphatic manner, a piece of poetry, the first line of which, if I am correct, was—

"The Church assumes her weeds of mourning now," &c.

She remained awhile, as if lost in deep thought, during which the doctor's mental energy was evidently increasing. Though he preserved the same distance, he seemed, by a peculiar motion of his hands, to compel her to kneel down, and when in that situation he kept them above her head. Then she sang, with a voice remarkably sweet and impressive, the hymn:

"O thou to whom all creatures bow," &c.

Shortly after, at a new motion of the doctor, she rose and sat down; her head fell on her breast and she appeared to sleep again soundly and quietly; whilst the doctor, evidently exhausted and wet all over with perspiration, fell himself on his seat, but in a few seconds resumed his self-possession.

Not a word had been uttered; the audience was struck with a kind of stupor. In the same silent way, we then desired the doctor to excite sorrow.

He renewed his exertions, which for a still longer time remained unanswered. At last the patient became agitated; she sighed, she appeared despondent; she clasped her hands, sobbed, and tears fell along her evidently suffering features. The doctor always mentally willed her to speak, and she exclaimed in great anguish: "O my dear mother! why have I lost you! I am now alone! yes! alone in the world!" and her cries and sobs smothered her voice.

The emotion and sympathy of the audience was extreme. But soon the doctor, by a gentle motion of his hand, always at a distance, and without uttering a sound, succeeded in calming her; then, as if he wished her to open her mouth, he moved his hand before her lips, and shortly after, with an expression of feeling that I could not describe, she sang the song entitled, "The Old Arm Chair."

Some persons will believe, perhaps, that the patient could see the motions and gestures of the doctor, and be guided by them; but, alas! this last entrenchment is not even left to the sceptic; the patient is a stone blind orphan, well known as born blind, and educated at the asylum for the blind of this very city.

If Doctor L——— could affect only one person—if his wonderful power could take effect on this subject alone, we would, perhaps, refuse to believe our own senses, and suspect, although we could not detect it, that we have been, nevertheless, deceived by some skillful delusion. But several other persons have obeyed in the same manner, and nearly as fully as the blind orphan, the mental commands of the doctor. I have, myself, been compelled to move my limbs as he wished, in spite of my exertions to the contrary. Should this extraordinary power be used by him only to elicit those singular results, it would indeed deserve already the attention of the scientific and the philosopher, as illustrative of some of the most interesting points of psycology. But the importance of it increases considerably when we ascertain its influence as means of curing diseases. The fact is, that many persons of high and very respectable standing in this city have been either completely cured or greatly relieved from affections of the most desperate character. So Miss B——— P———, the sister of one of our best writers of the day, was laboring under a malady of the spine, for the last ten years; she is now cured, after about nine weeks of Psychodunamic treatment. Miss E——— H———, whose mind was deranged for the last seven years, is now completely restored to society. Miss El—— T———, who had been declared by eminent physicians, to be hopelessly consumptive, found the restoration of her health, under the influence of five weeks of Psychodunamic process. Mr. T——— N———, who had a liver complaint that had baffled the skill of some of our best practitioners, found a perfect relief after three weeks of Psychodunamic attendance. In a word, many other patients, present at the lectures of the doctor, gave the most satisfactory account of the relief that they have experienced under his astonishing means of practice. This is unquestionably the most useful part of Psychodunamy, and the one which ought to call the attention of physicians, as well as that of the public at large.

From the Democratic Review.

A VISIT TO AN ENGLISH COTTAGE.

I entered a third cabin. Here the green earth smiled again, as did the mossy furze and glossy holly, that felt not the approach of winter. The floor was much like the first. Near the middle, sat the mother, pealing potatoes, which she threw into a pot at her side, half filled with water. I introduced myself on every occasion, by saying that I came from beyond the seas, and wished to inform my countrymen how the laborers lived in England. Sixpence brought forth willing answers to interrogatories, which I put without stint.

"How many children have you?" "Eight." "What did they feed upon this morning?" "Potatoes." "What will you give them for dinner?" "These potatoes you see me peeling." "Nothing else?" "No; nothing else." "Have you no meat, no milk, no butter for them?" She made no reply, fixed her eyes upon them, and sobbed aloud. But her countenance suddenly brightened into a smile, and she said, with a clear voice, "Thank God, salt is cheap." But her joy was a transient beam, for her eyes again overflowed as she showed me her eldest daughter, fourteen years of age, whom she made rise to her feet. Her tattered garments scarcely concealed her sex; it left her bare to the knees, behind, while it dangled to the ground in front. She blushed deeply, for want had not extinguished the modesty of nature, as her mother drew aside the rags that covered her snowy skin. "These," said she, "are all the clothes my child has; she cannot go to school in them; besides, she is obliged to stay at home, to take care of the children." This was palpably true, for her wasted form tottered under a burden that would soon add another inmate to this abode of misery.

The other children were grouped near the elder sister, sitting on the naked hearth. Their little hands and feet were red with cold; their features were set in melancholy; they were not playful, as became their innocent years; no, it has been truly said, that the children of the English poor know no childhood! Sorrow begins with life; they are disciplined to privation, from the cradle. From the cradle, did I say? I saw no cradle, and I verily believe that such a luxury was never known by the child of an English laborer.

In the corner of a chimney was an old man, sitting on his haunches, putting faggots to the fire, intended to boil the potatoes. "Who is that?" "It is old Mr. ——, he has no home, and we let him stay with us." He is eighty-three years of age, and partook with the children his portion of potatoes and salt.

I asked one of the little girls, where was the cat? The mother answered, they had none, "for the cat must eat." "Have you a dog?" "No, we cannot keep a dog; besides, he disturbs the game. "But you have a cock to crow for day?" "No, we have none."

I felt a sort of horror come over me, at the absence of these animals, sacred to every household—the cat, the companion and pastime of little children; the dog, the well-tried, trusty friend of man; the cock, whose joyous song hails the coming day—yet poverty, that bitter, blighting curse, has expelled even these from the cottages of the English peasantry.

"Can your husband read?" "Yes, he can read the easy parts of the Bible." "Can you read?" "No, I never went to school."

"How many apartments are there in your house?" "Two—one below and another above." "May I go up stairs?" She was evidently unwilling: my guide gave me a discouraging look: I persevered; and ascending a dirty, rickety flight of steps to a chamber, where the whole family slept; near a narrow, broken window, stood a wooden frame on four legs, on which were laid transverse laths, that supported a bed of cat chaff, sewed up in a dirty tattered sack, over which was spread a coarse woolen sheet, almost black; upon this lay two pillows of straw, and a thick striped coverlet worn into holes. Another sack of chaff lay on the floor in the corner, over which was stretched a sort of blanket torn to rags. Here slept all the children, except the youngest two, who lay with their parents. The fate of the old man at night was not made known to me, nor did I inquire. The furniture of the apartment below, consisted of a stool on which the mother sat; a box, occupied as a seat, by the eldest daughter; two broken chairs, unsafe for either my guide or myself; fourteen or fifteen articles of crockery of fractured plates, saucers, and cups; a tea-pot; two or three small iron vessels for cooking, and a broad table, sustained by diagonal bars fastened with nails. On the wall, under a broken piece of plate glass, hung a white napkin, fringed at the bottom, the only testimonial of neatness that poverty could afford. The whole chattel estate, including the apparel of man, wife, and children, could not be sold for ten dollars.

A LITTLE HUNCHBACK.—AN AFFECTING INCIDENT.

In the Knickerbocker for April, we find the following affecting incident, received by the editor, from an esteemed correspondent, who transcribed it verbatim from the familiar letter of a friend. It teaches a most useful lesson, and if any one can read it without emotion, with the editor of the Knickerbocker, we say, let him confine his indifference within his own cold bosom:

I have just returned from the funeral of poor Emma G——, a little girl to whom I had been for years most tenderly attached. As there was something very touching in the circumstances connected with her death, I will relate them to you. She was the daughter of a widow, a near neighbor of mine. When I first knew her, she was a sprightly child of about four years of age, perfect in form and feature. The bloom of health was upon her cheek; her eye was the brightest I ever saw; while in her bosom, there glowed a generous affection that seemed to embrace all with whom she came in contact. But when she reached her seventh year, her health began to decline. The rose suddenly paled upon her cheek, and her eye had acquired, prematurely, that sad, thoughtful expression, which gives so melancholy a charm to the features of wasting beauty. Her mother looked on with an anxious heart, and at an utter loss to account for so sudden a change in her health. But soon a new source of anxiety appeared. While dressing her one day, she observed on Emma's back, just between the shoulders, a small swelling, of about the size of a walnut. As she watched this spot, and observed that it grew larger from day to day, the mother began to have sad misgivings. These, however, she kept to herself for a time. Soon afterwards, a slight stoop in her gait became visible. The family physician was now called in, and the worst forebodings of the mother were confirmed. Her idolized child was fast becoming a hunchback!

I will not attempt to describe the feelings of the mother, who was thus doomed to witness from day to day, the slow growth of that which was to make one so dear to her a cripple and a dwarf. Suffice it to say, her love as well as care seemed to be redoubled, and Emma became more than ever the child of her affections. Nor did her little companions neglect her when she could no longer join in their out-door sports, and her own sprightly step had given place to a slow, stooping gait, and the sweet ringing voice to a sad or querulous tone, that sometimes made the very heart ache. On the contrary, all vied with each other in administering to her amusements. Among them, none clung to her with more assiduity than her brother William, who was the nearest to her own age. He gave up all his own out-door play, in order to be with her, and seemed never so happy as when he could draw a smile, sad though it was, from her thoughtful features.

But after a while, Emma grew wayward under her affliction; and unfortunately, though generally good-natured, William had a quick temper, to check which required more self-command than commonly falls to one so young. Sometimes, therefore, when he found plan after plan, which he had projected for her amusement, rejected with peevish contempt, he could hardly conceal from her his own wounded feelings. Yet, though at times ungrateful, Emma was perhaps not so in fact; and she loved her brother better than any one else save her mother. It was only in moments when her too sensitive nature had been chafed perhaps by her own reflections—for like the majority of children in her circumstances, she was thoughtful beyond her years—that her conduct seemed unkind. And then, when she marked the clouded expression of her brother's face, she would ask forgiveness in so meek a spirit, and kiss his cheek so affectionately, that he forgave her almost as soon as offended.

Years thus passed on, when one day, after she had been more than usually perverse and fretful, William, who had been reading to her, on receiving some slight rebuff, started suddenly from his seat by her side, called her "*a little hunchback*," and left the room. In a moment, however, his passion subsided, and returning, he found his sister in tears. He attempted to put his arm around her neck, but she repulsed him, and slipping away, retired to her own chamber. Her mother soon after learned what had happened, and going to Emma, found her upon the bed, in a paroxysm of grief. She endeavored to soothe her feelings, but in vain; she refused to be comforted. "I want to *die*, mother," she replied, to all her endearments; "I have long felt that I was a burden to you all." She cried herself to sleep that night, and on the morrow was too ill to rise. The doctor was called in, and warned the mother against an approaching fever. For three days she remained in an uncertain state; but on the fourth, the fever came in earnest, and thenceforth she was confined to her pillow.

In the meantime, the grief of William had been more poignant even than that of his sister. Thrice he had been to her bedside to ask her forgiveness, and kiss once more her pallid cheek; but she turned her face resolutely away, and refused to recognize him. After these repulses, he would slowly leave the room, and going to his own chamber, sit brooding for hours over the melancholy consequences of his rashness. Owing to the previous enfeebled health of Emma, the fever made rapid progress, and it soon became apparent that she must die. William, in consequence of the violent aversion of his sister, had latterly been denied admittance to the chamber, though he lingered all day about the door, eagerly catching the least word in regard to her state, and apparently unmindful of all other existence.

One morning, there was evidently a crisis approaching; for the mother and attendants hurrying softly in and out the sufferer's chamber, in quick whispered words gave orders or imparted intelligence to others. William saw it all, and with the quick instinct of affection, seemed to know what it foreboded. Taking his little stool, therefore, he sat down beside the chamber door, and waited in silence. In the meantime, the mother stood over the dying child, watching while a short, unquiet slumber held her back for a little longer. Several times a sweet smile trembled round the sufferer's lips, and her arms moved as if pressing something to her bosom. Then she awoke, and fixing her eyes upon her mother, whispered faintly, "I thought William was here." A stifled sob was heard at the door, which stood partly open. Mrs. G—— stepped softly out, and leading William to the bedside, pointed to his dying sister. He threw himself upon her bosom, and pressing his lips to her pale cheek, prayed for forgiveness. Emma did not heed him; but looking again in her mother's face, and pointing upward, said softly: "I shant be so *there!*—shall I, mother?

"No, my child!" replied the weeping parent; I hope not. But don't talk *so*, Emma. Forgive your poor brother, or you'll break his heart."

Emma tried to gasp something; but whatever it was, whether of love or hate, it never reached a mortal ear. In a few moments she was no more.

From the German of Ullman.

CHRIST'S CHARACTER.

The events of Christ's life give the impression that he had the greatest calmness, clearness of mind, and discretion, united with living, deep enthusiasm. It is not the vehement strain, the flaming spirit of Isaiah and Ezekiel, that distinguishes him; not the legislative, and sometimes violent energy of Moses; his whole nature is serenity and peace; and the blazing, consuming fire of the old phophets, changes itself in him into a soft, creative breathing of the spirit, into an uninterrupted consecration of the soul to God. In the spiritual atmosphere to which others are raised only in the hours of their special consecration, he walks as in his appropriate element of life. As the sun in a clear firmament, so he, still and sure, travels on in his safe path, and never deviates, dispensing light and life. His action is full of love, without effervescence of feeling, without vehemence and passion. He does nothing indiscreet and aimless; whatever he begins is securely finished, and accomplishes its design. Even when with holy reluctance, he comes to reprove in word or deed, it is no irritated personal feeling that vents itself, but it is always the indignation of love; holy, free from all selfish aim, hating the vice, but yet, in the vicious, loving the man who is still susceptible of improvement. And in all this, he never oversteps the bounds of moderation.

Jesus is soft and mild; he seeks above all, the lowly, the helpless, the despised; and of his own free will lets himself down to the lowest degradation, and the most ignominious suffering; but from under the veil of poverty and distress which covers him, there shines forth in every situation of his life, a high, kingly spirit. He possessed that talent for government, that commanding power, by means of which great minds are always and entirely their own masters; by which they know, in the most embarrassing situations, and with the composure of one free from doubt, just what is right and fit to be done, and by which they hold a sway over other minds that is like enchantment. With this dignity, this kingly mien, sealed by his spiritual greatness, did the same Jesus who had not where to lay his head, move about among his friends, and present himself before his foes. "His deed was decisive as his word, his word as his deed." Where his enemies sought to lay snares for him, he rent asunder the snares, and with his superior power of mind, repelled all attacks, until himself was convinced that his hour had come. Not seldom did he shame his enemies by bare silence; a silence which was then most effective, when, in calm consciousness of innocence, he stood before the Sanhedrim as they were burning with revenge. But nothing exceeds the dignity with which Jesus bore testimony of himself, in the face of the secular governor and judge. "I am a king; for this end I was born, and have come into the word, that I may testify to the truth; whoso is of the truth, heareth my voice." How all other greatness fades away before the consciousness of such elevation! And what word of sage, hero, or any one of the greatest or mightiest men, can for inward majesty, be placed by the side of this, "I am a king, for this end have I come into the world, that I may testify to the truth!"

EXCESS.

Nature sends no creature, no man, into the world, without adding a small excess of his proper quality Given the planet, it is still necessary to add the impulse; so to every creature is added a little violence of direction in its proper path, a shove, to put it on its way; in every instance, a slight generosity, a drop too much. Without electricity, the air would rot; and without this violence of direction, which men and women have, without a spice of bigot and fanatic, no excitement, no efficiency. We aim above the mark, to hit the mark. Every act hath some falsehood of exaggeration in it. And when now and then comes along some sad, sharp-eyed man who sees how paltry a game is played, and refuses to play, but blabs the secret; how then? is the bird flown? O no, wary Nature sends a new troop of fairer forms, of lordlier youths, with a little more excess of direction to hold them fast to their several aims; makes them a little wrong-headed in that direction in which they are rightest, and on goes the game, again, with a new whirl, for a generation or two more. See the child, the fool of his senses, with his thousand pretty pranks, commanded by every sight and sound, without any power to compare and rank his sensations, abandoned to every bauble, to a whistle, a painted chip, a lead dragoon, a gilt gingerbread horse; individualizing everything, generalizing nothing, who thus delighted with everything new, lies down at night overpowered by the fatigue which this day of continual pretty madness has incurred. But Nature has answered her purpose with the curly, dimpled lunatic. She has tasked every faculty, and has secured the symmetrical growth of the bodily frame by all these attitudes and exertions; an end of the first importance, which could not be trusted to any care less perfect than her own. This glitter, this opaline lustre, plays round the top of every toy to his eye, to ensure his fidelity, and he is deceived to his good.

We are made and kept alive by the same arts. Let the stoics say what they please, we do not eat for the good of living, but because the meat is savory, and the appetite is keen. Nature does not content herself with casting from the flower or the tree, a single seed, but she fills the air and earth with a prodigality of seeds; that if thousands perish, thousands may plant themselves, that hundreds may come up, that tens may live to maturity, that at least one may replace the parent. All things betray the same calculated profusion. The excess of fear with which the animal frame is hedged round, shrinking from cold, starting at sight of a snake, at every sudden noise, or falling stone, protects us through a multitude of groundless alarms, from some one real danger at last. The lover seeks in marriage his private felicity and perfection, with no prospective end; and Nature hides in his happiness her own end, namely, progeny, or the perpetuity of the race.

But the craft with which the world is made, runs also into the mind and character of men. No man is quite sane, but each has a vein of folly in his composition, a slight determination of blood to the head, to make sure of holding him hard to some one point which Nature has taken to heart.—*R. W. Emerson.*

MELIORATING TENDENCIES OF THE GOSPEL.

Christianity is the hope of the world, and we ought to regard every conspicuous manifestation of its spirit and power, as an era in human history. We are dazzled by revolutions of empires; we hope much from the rise or fall of governments. But nothing but Christianity can regenerate the earth; and accordingly, we should hail with joy every sign of a clearer comprehension, and a deeper feeling of its truths. Christianity truly understood, has a direct tendency to that renovation of the world, which it foretells. It is not an abstract system, secluding the disciple from his kind; but it makes him one with his race, breaks down all barriers between him and his brethren, arms him with a martyr's spirit in the cause of humanity, sends him forth to be a saviour of the lost; and just as far as Christianity is thus viewed and felt by its followers, the redemption of the world draws nigh. These views of religion are making their way. They dawn upon us not only in emancipation, but in many other movements of our age; not that they have ever been wholly obscured; but the rank which they hold in the Christian system, and the vast social changes which they involve, have not, until the present day, been dreamed of.

All the doctrines of Christianity are more and more seen to be bonds of close, spiritual, reverential union between man and man, and this is the most cheering view of our time. Christianity is a revelation of the infinite, universal, paternal love of God towards his human family, comprehending the most sinful, descending to the most fallen; and its aim is to breathe the same love into its disciples. It shows us Christ tasting death, for every man, and it summons us to take his cross, or to participate of his sufferings in the same cause. Its doctrine of immortality gives infinite worth to every human being; for every one is destined to this endless life.—The doctrine of the "Word made flesh," shows us God uniting himself most intimately with our nature, manifesting himself in a human form, for the very end of making us partakers of his own perfection. The doctrine of grace, as it is termed, reveals the infinite Father imparting his Holy Spirit to the humblest human being who implores it. Thus love and reverence for human nature, a love for man stronger than death, is the very spirit of Christianity. Undoubtedly this spirit is faintly comprehended by the best of us. Some of its most striking expressions are still derided in society. Society still rests on selfish principles. Men sympathize still with the prosperous and great, not the abject and down-trodden. But amidst this degradation, brighter glimpses of Christianity are caught than before. There are deeper, wider sympathies with mankind. The idea of raising up the mass of human beings to intellectual, moral, and spiritual dignity, is penetrating many minds. Among the signs of a brighter day, perhaps the West Indian emancipation is the most conspicuous; for in this, the rights of the most despised men have been revered.—*Dr. Channing's Emancipation Address.*

ATTACHMENT OF BIRDS TO MAN.

A traveller in Catalonia has furnished the following relation of the attachment of the feathered race to a member of a hermitage, formed on the picturesque mountain of Monserrat. This hermitage bears the name of St. Catharine, and is situated in a deep and solitary recess, but commanding, nevertheless, a most extensive, and pleasing prospect at noon-day, stretching wide to the east and west. The buildings, gardens, &c. are confined within small limits, being fixed in a most picturesque and secure locality, under the foot of one of the high pines. Though this hermit's habitation is the most retired and solitary abode of the many which are established on the mountain, and far removed from the din of men, yet the courtly, affable, and sprightly inhabitant seems not to feel the loss of human society. Although not much accustomed to hear the voice of men, he is somewhat recompensed by the notes of birds, for it is their sanctuary as well as his; since no part of the mountain is so well inhabited by the feathered race as this delightful spot. Perhaps, indeed, they have sagacity enough to know that there is no other so perfectly secure. Here the nightingale, the black-bird, the linnet, and an infinite variety of little songsters, dwell in perfect security, and live in the most friendly intimacy with their protector, and obey his call. He has but to speak the wish, and instantly the birds quit their sprays, and surround his person, some settling on his head, others entangling their feet in his beard, and, in the true sense of the word, taking his bread even from his mouth. Indeed their confidence is so great, that the stranger too partakes of their familiarity and caresses. If the hermit's meals be scanty, his dessert is served up with a song; and his repose is hushed by the voice of the nightingale. Breathing pure air, feeding on light food, his mind never ruffled by worldly affairs, his sleep is sweet and refreshing; and living in confidence of finding in death a more heavenly residence, his life is more to be envied than pitied by the rest of the world.

INSTINCT OF PIGS.

A gentleman residing at Feversham, bought two pigs at Reading market, which were conveyed to his house in a sack, and turned into his yard, which lies on the banks of the river Thames. The next morning the pigs were missing; a hue and cry was immediately raised, and towards the afternoon a person gave information that two pigs had been seen swimming across the river, at nearly its broadest part. They were afterwards seen trotting along the Pangaborne road; and in one place where the road branches off, putting their noses together, as if in deep consultation. The result was, their safe return to the place from which they had been conveyed, to the Reading market, a distance of nine miles, and by cross-roads. The farmer from whom they had been purchased, brought them back to their owner, but they took the very first opportunity to escape again, recrossed the water—thus removing the stigma upon their race, that they are unable to swim without cutting their own throats—and never stopped until they found themselves at their first home.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.—If public opinion does not soon become settled on the subject of capital punishment, there will be but little fear of any punishment for murder. As it now is, justice is not meted out for this crime. It is becoming so repugnant to the better feelings of human nature to take from a man what cannot be returned, that it is difficult to find a jury that will bring in a verdict of guilty, when they are aware of its fatal consequences. It is desirable that this question should be definitely settled, and some other more humane punishment substituted.—*Haverhill Gazette.*

WISE WORDS.

Forgiveness.—A gentleman relating the particulars of a real injury, to Sir Eardly Wilmot, asked him if it were not manly to resent it? "Yes," said the knight, "it will be manly to resent it, but it will be God-like to forgive it."

Calumny.—The aspersions of calumny will not adhere permanently to your character, unless they find in this some ground of adhesion. When, therefore, you are assailed by slander and obloquy, suffer that which will not stick, to fall to the ground of its own accord; and, as to the rest, mend your character.

He is a fool who cannot be angry, but he is a wise man who will not.

A persian gentleman once bowed to a lady whom he met, highly adorned with jewels, and said, "Madame, I thank you." "For what?" said she. "For your beautiful jewels, which *you* have the trouble of wearing, and *I* have the pleasure of enjoying."

"*No.*"—The celebrated John Randolph, in one of his letters to a young relative, says: "I know nothing I am so anxious you should acquire, as the faculty of saying 'no.' You must expect unreasonable requests to be preferred to you every day of your life, and must endeavor to deny with as much facility and kindness as you acquiesce."

Look not mournfully into the Past—it comes not back again. Wisely improve the Present, it is thine. Go forth to meet the shadowy Future, without fear, and with a manly heart.

The coin most current among mankind, is flattery; the only benefit of which is, that by hearing what we are not, we may be instructed what we ought to be.

FOR HOUSEKEEPERS AND FARMERS.

Spots upon mahogany furniture, caused by cologne water, or alcohol in any form, may be immediately removed, and the place turned to its original color and beauty, by the application of a few drops of oil. We believe this to be a sure restorer. Try it.—*Boston Mercantile Journal.*

Indelible Ink.—The milk which exudes from sumac, is the best indelible ink that can be used.—Break off one of the stems that supports the leaves, and write what may be wanted with it. In a short time it becomes a beautiful jet black, and can never be washed out.—*Lowell Herald.*

A new rat-trap.—Thirty-six rats have been taken in one night by the following plan: Take a smooth kettle, fill to within six inches of the top with water, cover the surface with chaff or bran, then place it in the evening where the rats harbor.

To preserve steel pens.—Take a small sized tumbler, about half full of emery, which should be kept covered with water. The water in the emery should be changed, occasionally, as it may appear necessary. Until tried, no one can imagine its vast superiority over any other mode of cleaning steel or metallic pens.

To restore rancid butter to its original sweetness.—Churn the butter with fresh sweet milk, in the proportion of 3 lbs. butter to half a gallon milk; it is said that this simple process will restore rancid butter to nearly its former sweetness.—*Albany Cultivator.*

Cranberry Trade.—Cranberries are capable of being transported to Europe, without suffering from the voyage. American cranberries are frequently sold in London at eight dollars a bushel, as fresh as when first gathered from the marshes. This information may be worth the attention of those who have marshy, or brook land, as a matter of profit.

Patent Rennet.—Take three teacups-full of sweet cream, three of salt, three eggs, and three nutmegs: beat them well together, and put the compound in a hog's rennet; tie it, and hang it up; it will soon be fit for use: soak, and use it as any other kind.

CAPITAL PUNISHMENT.

(Second Edition.)

JUST Published, and for sale at this office, a new work on Capital Punishment. By Charles Spear. It contains a variety of thrilling and instructive anecdotes; also, all the capital offenses in every State in the Union; and a speech from O'Connell on the subject. Also, several instances of the execution of the *innocent*. Facts are drawn from history and observation, and the entire scripture ground has been examined. The work is embellished with a fine engraving. Price, 62 1-2 cents.

TEXAS AND MEXICO.

JUST published, and for sale at 143 Nassau street, fourth part of "The Legion of Liberty:" being a remonstrance of some of the Free Men, States, and Presses, to the Texan Rebellion, against the laws of Nature and of Nations. Price 6 cts. single; 50 cts. per dozen.

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag; the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocan